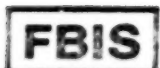


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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2818



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7 July 1983

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

No. 2818

CONTENTS

BOTSWANA

Measures Taken To Limit Impact of Water Crisis (DAILY NEWS, 5, 6 May 83).....	1
Contractors Must Find Sources President Inspects Boreholes Disconnection for Illegal Use, by Felicitus Mashungwa	

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Spanish Diplomats Visit Alleged Coup Plotter . (EFE, 11 Jun 83).....	4
---	---

ETHIOPIA

National Military Service Source of 'The New Man' (THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD, 27 May 83).....	5
Seminar for Addis AETU Officials Commences (THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD, 28 May 83).....	7
Coffee Production in Areas Under CIP Rises (THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD, 28 May 83).....	9
Briefs	
Gedeo Province Co-ops	11
Economic Sabotage	11
Army Work Campaign	11
Jibat-Metcha Educational Progress	12

GHANA

Article Traces Development of Trade Union Movement (WEST AFRICA, 30 May 83).....	13
---	----

Accra Radio Notes Popular Support for PNDC (Accra Domestic Service, 23 Jun 83).....	16
KENYA	
More Trade Unionists Lash Out at Nassir (Robert Irungu; THE KENYA TIMES, 27 May 83).....	18
'Financial Mess' of Local Authorities Reported (William Onyango; THE KENYA TIMES, 30 May 83).....	19
KPT Union General Secretary Suspended (Robert Irungu; THE KENYA TIMES, 2 Jun 83).....	20
Criticism of Williamsburg Summit Voiced (DAILY NATION, 31 May 83).....	21
District To Be Focal Point for Rural Development (THE KENYA TIMES, 2 Jun 83).....	22
Move To Make Cooperatives More Manageable Reported (Zack M'Mugambi; THE KENYA TIMES, 2 Jun 83).....	24
Lack of Security at Kilindini Harbor Hit (DAILY NATION, 3 Jun 83).....	25
Briefs Livestock Research	27
LESOTHO	
MP's Stage 'Anti-S. African Demonstration' (SAPA, 21 Jun 83).....	28
Minister To Keep Party Membership (Maseru Domestic Service, 20 Jun 83).....	30
MAURITIUS	
Nine New Ministers Join Jugnauth's Government (LE MAURICIEN, 28 Mar 83).....	31
NIGERIA	
Relationship Between Politics, Economy Stressed (Onyema Ugochukwu; WEST AFRICA, 23 May 83).....	34

Relations of Muslims With Islamic Countries Noted (Abdelwahab el Affendi; ARABIA THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW, May 83).....	35
Briefs	
National Seminar on Corruption	37
Dockworkers Laid Off	37
SENEGAL	
Marxist Parties Urged To Resolve Their Differences (Mademba Ndiaye; TAKUSAAN, 21-23 May 83).....	38
Briefs	
Saudi Loan Agreements Signed	40
Danish Financing Agreement Signed	40
New Chinese Medical Mission	41
Economic Growth Rate Envisaged	41
SEYCHELLES	
Chinese Youth Federation Mission Arrives for Talks (NATION, 23, 25 May 83).....	42
Meetings Scheduled	
Visits Reported	
Briefs	
General Elections	44
SOUTH AFRICA	
Charges of Regional Destabilization Efforts Refuted (Ashley C. Lillie; PARATUS, Mar-Apr 83).....	45
LE MONDE Cites ANC's Tambo on RSA Hangings (Jean-Pierre Langellier; LE MONDE, 11 Jun 83).....	54
Poll Shows Natal Indians Interested in Reforms (PHOENIX, Apr 83).....	56
Support for Cross-Border Strikes Voiced (PARATUS, Apr 83).....	59
Briefs	
New SACC President Elected	62

TANZANIA

Briefs

Price Controls on Meat 'Ineffective'	63
Tanzanian Citizenship for Rwandans	63

UPPER VOLTA

Pro-Qadhdhafi Group Within Leadership Purged (Mark Doyle; WEST AFRICA, 30 May 83).....	64
---	----

ZAMBIA

Pilot National Manpower Survey To Begin in July (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 11 Jun 83).....	66
--	----

Church Review Notes More Than 90,000 Refugees in Need (DAILY MAIL, 16 Jun 83).....	67
--	----

INDECO Shelves Plans for Ethanol Production (DAILY MAIL, 15 Jun 83).....	68
---	----

Kuwani, Sacika Comment on ZCTU's Wage Ceiling Rejection (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 13 Jun 83).....	69
--	----

LWZA Manpower Research Says Training Must Suit Manpower Needs (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 16 Jun 83).....	70
--	----

Czechoslovakia Completes Feasibility Study on Transport System (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 16 Jun 83).....	71
---	----

Mundia Urges West To Emulate Japan in Offering Grants (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 15 Jun 83).....	72
--	----

Briefs

Call for Increased Output	73
Japanese Investment Praised	73
Assistance to Refugees	73
Finnish Transport, Farming Aid	74
Match Shortage End	74

ZIMBABWE

Norway Seen as 'Potential Market' for Products (THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE, 20 May 83).....	75
---	----

Success of Kuwadzana Cooperative Described (THE HERALD, 30 May 83).....	76
Professor Advocates Single Party System (Ray Mawerera; THE SUNDAY MAIL, 29 May 83).....	78
This Year's Sugar Export Earnings Forecast (THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE, 20 May 83).....	80
Chidzero Warns of Tough New Budget (THE HERALD, 31 May 83).....	81
Single Power Supply Authority Planned (THE HERALD, 31 May 83).....	83
Union Leader Claims Miners Exploited, Forced to Resign (David Masunda; BUSINESS HERALD, 26 May 83).....	84
Increase of Skilled Population Reported (THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE, 20 May 83).....	86
Farmers Union Leader on 'Viability Crisis' (THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE, 27 May 83).....	87
Brace for Harder Times, Sinclair Warns (THE HERALD, 28 May 83).....	88
Briefs	
Socialist Education	89
Rubber Plant Closes	89
Profitable Councils Urged	90
Government Loans to Councils	90
Pricing Standstill Defended	91
Twenty-Seven-Year Loan Floated	91
Italian Cotton Buyers	91
Fruits Interest Sweden	91

MEASURES TAKEN TO LIMIT IMPACT OF WATER CRISIS

Contractors Must Find Sources

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 5 May 83 p 1

[Text]

THE PRESIDENT, Dr Q.K.J. Masire, announced a number of new measures to limit the impact of crisis on the employment sector, as a result of the acute shortage of water in the Gaborone and Lobatse areas.

Among the new measures, is that high priority Government and parastatal construction projects will go ahead as scheduled, with the large contractors involved given the responsibility to find water required from sources other than the Water Utilities Corporation.

He noted that there was water available in other parts of Botswana, with some in boreholes in and around Gaborone.

"At the same time Government is working on a scheme, in which the private sector will have to be closely involved, to find water for the affected areas and make it available to the smaller contractors working on projects for all sectors of the economy," explained Dr Masire.

The President announced the new measures in a nationwide broadcast over Radio Botswana yesterday afternoon.

This was the second such broadcast within a fortnight, on the current water crisis that has been brought about by the drought that is ravaging

Botswana for the second year running.

Dr Masire appealed then, to the international community to continue helping Botswana and he also announced a number of measures that his Government was pursuing to help minimise the suffering of the people.

In the latest broadcast, the President reminded the nation that "a major crisis exists at the moment" as a result the Water Utilities Corporation has had to declare a ban on all new water connections.

"Employment in that industry is falling, and this is likely to be followed by fall in employment in those activities that depend on construction for order."

He warned: "Any major reduction in employment in the construction and associated industries would inevitably mean problems for the commercial sector and others as there would not be as many people spending as much money."

"The whole economy of this area would be affected," he added, "and other parts of the country would also suffer as there would be fewer workers sending money home to their families in rural areas."

Dr Masire emphasised that the Government intended to do all that it could to minimise the drop in construction sector activity.

He also noted that while the price of water for the smaller contractors would be higher than that from the Water Utilities Corporation, it was Government's hope that the measures would limit the impact of the crisis on the construction sector.

Earlier, the President disclosed that the Government was reviewing its development programme, to reduce the rate of growth of the Lobatse-Gaborone area with its demand for water.

This was to see if developments planned for Gaborone could not sensibly be located in places like Selebi-Phikwe and other places where an assured supply of water was available.

"Urgent consideration is also being given to incentives to attempt to shift private sector development from Gaborone and Lobatse to Selebi-Phikwe and other places in the next few years," he added.

Dr Masire stressed that water problems are likely to be around for a number of years, even after the Gaborone dam wall has been raised the new sources of ground water have been tapped.

"Government and the private sector will have to take this fully into account in their plans," he said, "and the rate of growth of water demand in Gaborone and

Lobatse will have to be kept firmly in check."

The emphasis would be on major water savings now and efforts to limit future growth of demand, said Dr Masire.

President Inspects Boreholes

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 6 May 83 p 1

[Text]

THE PRESIDENT Dr Q.K.J. Masire, accompanied by the Minister of Mineral Resources and Water Affairs, Dr Gaositwe Chiepe, inspected the drilling of a borehole in Molepolole on Wednesday afternoon.

The drilling of the borehole, two kilometres North East of Molepolole, is part of an ongoing exercise by the Department of Water Affairs to find a solution to the water crisis facing the Gaborone/Lobatse areas and other parts of the country.

During the inspection the President commented that government was worried by the scare that is terrifying construction companies especially the small ones in the affected areas.

He had earlier asked the officials of the Water Affairs Department when would the water from the boreholes at Ramotswa be expected in Gaborone and the response was that the equipping and the pipe-laying was being carried out and that the water can be expected in Gaborone by the end of the year.

Briefing reporters at the site of the drilling in Molepolole, the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Mineral Resources and Water Affairs, Mr Charles Tibone, said that if the borehole could yield about 5 000 cubic litres a day, recommendations would be made to government to find the logistics of supplying the water to hard hit areas like Gaborone. He added that Molepolole would also benefit from the water.

Mr Tibone said that the President was invited to inspect the drilling because he was very concerned about the water shortage in Gaborone/Lobatse areas and other parts of the country.

The Permanent Secretary also disclosed that the Department of Water Affairs has embarked on a programme of investigating underground water at Otse, Kopong, Kolobeng, Metsimotlhabe and Molepolole.

He said that the drilling of the Molepolole borehole was the first successful one.

Mr Tibone further revealed that companies in Gaborone or those carrying construction work in Molepolole and the general public were free to collect and use the water that is being presently pumped out during testing. He explained that no charge will be made and that the water was clean.

Present at the inspection ceremony were the District

Commissioner Mr K.F. Diseko, Deputy Chief of the Bakwena, Mr Ngwanaamotho Kgosientsho, the District Council Chairman, Mr Boikanyo Kgosiidintsi and other senior government and local officials.

Disconnection for Illegal Use

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 6 May 83 p 1

[Article by Felicitus Mashungwa]

[Text]

A DOMESTIC consumer in Gaborone was on Tuesday disconnected from the water supply for illegally using drinking water on his garden and for tampering with a Water Utilities Corporation Service.

This was disclosed in a Press Release from the Corporation issued on Wednesday.

In an interview with BOPA Thursday morning, the Chief Executive Officer of Water Utilities Corporation, Mr C. Sayles said that the consumer was re-connected after 24 hours because he sent an apology for having used the water illegally.

He gave the reason that his wife was sick and he had two small children, and that he was very sorry for what he did.

Mr Sayles said that the Corporation acted on humanitarian reasons and re-connected him.

The affected consumer was seen by someone watering his garden with clean tap water, who in turn passed the message to

the Corporation and acting on this report it restricted the flow to his property.

Mr Sayles said that the said consumer will pay all costs and charges incurred by the corporation involved in disconnecting and reconnecting him.

He said this will cost about P25.

Asked about measures the Corporation is taking to ensure that the water is not illegally used, Mr Sayles said that the Corporation monitors the situation with metres to see who is using a lot of water.

He said if one is seen to be using a lot of water the corporation will then restrict the flow. Mr Sayles said that the Corporation will continue to disconnect the majority of consumers who illegally use water.

Others, he warned will be taken to court under the Water Works Law and will be prosecuted.

CSU: 3400/1526

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

SPANISH DIPLOMATS VISIT ALLEGED COUP PLOTTER

PA120209 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1528 GMT 11 Jun 83

[Text] Madrid, 11 Jun (EFE)--Today, Spanish diplomats visited Guinean Sergeant Venancio Mico, implicated in last month's coup attempt in Equatorial Guinea. The meeting had been one of the conditions asked in order to deliver Mico to the Guinean authorities.

According to a note from the Spanish Foreign Ministry furnished by the Spanish ambassador in Malabo, the minister counselor of the Spanish Embassy in Malabo and the Spanish consul visited Sgt Venancio Mico today.

The note explained that the meeting was held in compliance with a compromise between Equatorial Guinea President Teodoro Obiang Nguema and Spanish Foreign Minister Fernando Moran.

According to the same sources, Mico is in perfect physical and psychological condition, and is under the protection of President Obiang's personal guard.

Sergeant Mico, who took refuge at the Spanish Embassy in Malabo after trying to overthrow the government together with other military officers on 22 May, was delivered to President Obiang's personal Moroccan guard a week later.

Before Sergeant Mico was delivered, Foreign Minister Fernando Moran went to Guinea, where he reached a series of agreements with Obiang regarding the handing over of Sergeant Mico. One of the agreements consisted of arrangements for visits to Mico by Spanish diplomats.

Since there had been difficulties in this respect, Foreign Minister Moran over the weekend sent a telegram to Obiang, in which he reiterated the agreements they had reached and urged Obiang to comply with them.

Spanish diplomatic representatives in Malabo made similar efforts with the Guinean Government, which made today's visit possible.

CSO: 3448/257

NATIONAL MILITARY SERVICE SOURCE OF 'THE NEW MAN'

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 27 May 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] The National Military Service, which is a source of "the new man" and the creator of the new culture, develops the youth physically and morally and enables them march along a principled path, it was stated by SERTO ADER in a lead article yesterday.

SERTO ADER, Organ of the Central Committee of COPWE, reviewed in its article the mission of the youth both yesterday and today in the light of the Revolutionary Government's Proclamation on the National Military Service.

The youth, SERTO ADER noted, have realised the aims of the Proclamation on the National Military Service, that is to defend the gains of the Revolution, to ensure that justice prevails in the society and to achieve the objectives of socialist construction.

Based on these aims, discussions have been carried out by the youth. These discussions, said SERTO ADER clearly demonstrate the determination of the youth to implement the Proclamation.

The paper stressed that the main aim of the National Military Service is to raise the military capability of the entire revolutionary citizens of the country and thereby create socialist patriots who would guarantee the safety of the Motherland and the Revolution.

The National Military Service under which millions of young citizens would be prepared towards the attainment of the national objectives is a school of where the young generation develop practically their knowledge and creative skills, according to SERTO ADER.

SERTO ADER further described the National Military Service as a centre where the young generation would be shaped with popular discipline overcoming harmful characteristics such as impulsiveness and aggressive and chauvinistic tendencies. It is a place where the new and ideal type of soldier would emerge, the paper noted.

The National Military Service, added SERTO ADER, has no objectives other than the defence of the Motherland and the gains of the Revolution from

counter-revolutionaries and the spread of the principles of proletarian internationalism. It is in this light that the youth, who occupy the limelight of the National Military Service, would be trained and be prepared for the construction task ahead, SERTO ADER said.

Through the National Military Service, the young generation will raise their proficiency in combat skills and use of arms. This aim is closely linked with the country's objective to strengthen its efforts for peace, defend its boundaries and the gains of the Revolution and to fulfil its mission in accordance with proletarian internationalism. It is by no means intended for aggressive tendencies, SERTO ADER declared.

The participation in the National Military Service of the young generation, which is the builder and recipient of tomorrow's Revolutionary Ethiopia, guarantees the maintenance of peace in future and the success of the construction endeavour, said SERTO ADER further underlining the duties of the Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association (REYA) and Government and mass organisation to popularise the aims of the service. (ENA)

CSO: 3400/1510

SEMINAR FOR ADDIS AETU OFFICIALS COMMENCES

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 28 May 83 pp 1, 3

[Text] A two-day seminar organized for executive bodies of the Addis Ababa chapter of the AETU to equip them with a better understanding of the various economic sectors opened here yesterday at the Addis Ababa City Hall and at the Yekatit '66 Political School.

The seminar is attended by representatives of the Addis Ababa Workers' Union, industrial sector unions of the five zones and 25 district and 852 basic sectoral unions.

Briefings will be given on relations between AETU and international trade unions, the role of workers in safeguarding the Motherland and Constructing socialism, the transport and communications sectors of the economy, creating socialist oriented trade sector, and the new AETU organizational rules and regulations.

Opening the seminar at the City Hall, Comrade Tadelle Adamu, Head of Organizational Affairs in the Addis Ababa COPWE, expressed confidence that executive bodies would be vigilant and militant enough to speed up the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses.

Comrade Tadelle noted that to build the new society there should be full participation of workers and urged them to spearhead the class struggle.

Comrade Tadelle stressed that those placed in executive positions should be aware of the seriousness of their responsibilities and prepare themselves to duly discharge them. He added that executive bodies at AETU should pay particular attention to co-ordinating the working force in Addis Ababa.

Earlier, Comrade Seyum Alemu, Deputy Chairman of the Addis Ababa Workers' Union, spoke in appreciation of the streamlined structural set-up of AETU and the new conducive working atmosphere created since the restructuring of the Union.

Opening the Seminar at Yekatit '66 Political School, Comrade Girma Zewge, Head of the Addis Ababa COPWE Discipline and Control Affairs, said that the commitment of trade union leaders would have strong impact on the overall

performance of the working people. He urged pertinent officials to carry out their assigned duties with deeper sense of dedication and revolutionary spirit.

Comrade Girma urged the working people to intensify their struggle till the objectives of the revolution are accomplished.

Comrade Girma outlined the responsibilities of the executive bodies in mobilizing the members of the Addis Ababa AETU in development endeavours. He also reminded them of their task in translating into deeds the directives of the Revolutionary Government and COPWE.

The seminar is also aimed at familiarizing basic Union leaders with documents issued in connection with the restructuring of the AETU.

The seminar is likewise expected to help the working people have a better understanding of their role in the formation of the party of the working people and the implementation of the recent proclamation of National Military Service, according to Comrade Haile Gebre-Selassie, the Addis Ababa workers' union chairman. (ENA)

CSO: 3400/1510

COFFEE PRODUCTION IN AREAS UNDER CIP RISES

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 28 May 83 pp 1, 3

[Text] Coffee production in areas under the Coffee Improvement Project (CIP) of the Ministry of Coffee and Tea Development has risen from an average of 400 kgs. to about 800 kgs. per hectare.

Comrade Asrat Wendem-Agegnehu, Manager of the Coffee Improvement Project, in an exclusive interview with the Ethiopian News Agency (ENA), said that the increase in coffee production was realized in line with the main objective of the project to boost coffee yield per unit area with the application of improved techniques.

Coffee grows in almost every region of the country but 32 districts were particularly identified as leading coffee producing areas.

Of the total, 15 major coffee producing districts are currently under the project's development focus which would eventually cover the 32 districts throughout the country noted for their coffee.

The project has close working links with producers and service cooperatives and is exerting utmost effort to improve the quality and quantity of coffee through the application of modern coffee farming techniques.

The Coffee Improvement Project supplies the cooperatives with the necessary farm inputs like fertilizers, credit facilities for the construction of stores, offices, storage equipment, etc. It also takes part in development oriented ventures such as rural road construction.

Extension agents assigned to different areas under the project orient peasants with the correct methods on how to pick, dry and store coffee. In other words they advise and encourage peasants to increase productivity by familiarizing them with various coffee farming systems.

The project also attaches significance to the introduction of improved cultural practices like stumping, pruning, mulching, spraying chemicals, fertilizing as well as spacing.

The Coffee Improvement Project provides coffee growing cooperatives with coffee seedlings grown in several coffee nurseries run by the CIP.

The project is making maximum efforts to minimize the loss of coffee due to Coffee Berry Disease (CBD). This is done in two ways. Firstly, the CIP is making efforts to control the disease by spraying chemicals against CBD and other pests and by distributing sprayers to the peasants through their respective cooperatives as an interim measure. Secondly, initiatives are being taken to plant CBD resistant variety coffee seedlings in different coffee improvement project areas as a long-term solution.

The project gives top priority to training of representatives of coffee producing cooperatives by organizing skill upgrading courses, educational seminars, meetings as well as visits at district, provincial, regional and national levels. Lectures are conducted by experts of the project and other pertinent organizations.

Coffee being the backbone of the national economy, the CIP is giving undivided attention to the improvement and development of coffee through the implementation of all possible modern agricultural practices. The creation of peasants producers' and service cooperatives in general and coffee producers' cooperatives in particular has further helped the project to pass new ideas and know-how on to the coffee growers.

Taking into account the pivotal role coffee plays in the Ethiopian economy as the major foreign exchange earner, the Coffee Improvement Project was put into operation in January 1977 with the objective of increasing coffee yield per unit area through the introduction of improved cultural practices, disease and pest control measures, the supply of coffee inputs, provision of credit facilities and the building of rural roads.

The project was established at a cost of about 32 million birr. The greater portion of the fund was covered by the European Development Fund (EDF) of the European Economic Community (EEC) while the remaining two million was provided by the Ethiopian Government.

Presently the project has entered its second phase which lasts for four years. The money allotted for the second phase is 27.2 million European Currency Unity (ECU). About 57 million birr is granted by the EDF, about 25 million birr is to be supplied by the Ethiopian Government and the remaining 33 million birr will be covered in kind by the project farmers. (ENA)

CSO: 3400/1510

ETHIOPIA

BRIEFS

GEDEO PROVINCE CO-OPS--Twenty-six of the 28 peasants' service co-operatives in Gedeo province, Sidamo region, are showing remarkable progress. The co-operatives have received certificates of legal recognition. Presently the co-operatives have a capital of over 2,133,000 Birr, according to Comrade Sileshi Alemayehu, the Provincial Representative of the Ministry of Agriculture. They own 48 flour mills, 39 coffee processing plants, 49 co-operative shows, a tractor and 28 Toyota vans. [Excerpt] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 25 May 83 p 5]

ECONOMIC SABOTAGE--A former businessman, Asmerom Mengistab, has been placed under custody on charges of smuggling 166,155 dollars (343,942 Birr) out of Ethiopia to the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. The National Working People's Control Committee (NWCC) said in a press release yesterday that there was conclusive evidence against Asmerom of allegedly smuggling out the money and stashing it away in various banks. The release said, the American dollars were accumulated through the black market and smuggled out with the collaboration of tourists. The NWCC also accused Asmerom of securing 1,700 dollars through normal currency exchange on the plea that he needed the money for the medical treatment of his son in the U.S. The release further pointed out that Amserom had illegally taken possession of his brother's lorry and sold it for 70,000 Birr when he should have handed it over to the authorities following the brother's defection to a secessionist bandit group. The NWCC also announced that some of its findings regarding economic saboteurs and black market dealers will shortly be revealed to the public. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 25 May 83 p 5]

ARMY WORK CAMPAIGN--Asmara (ENA)--Members of the Revolutionary Army recently conducted a four-day work campaign in the Ethio-Sidar Factory here to increase production. The members, who accomplished the work campaign in support of the Resolution of the Second COPWE Congress reaffirmed their readiness to contribute their share in future in the effort to increase production and build the country's economy. Similarly students in Adi-Kyih and Senaafe districts of Akaleguzar province, Eritrea region, have planted 20,000 tree seedlings during their spare time. The manager of the provincial schools' office said that the development activities carried out by the students are intended to cover deforested areas with vegetation. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 29 May 83 pp 1, 6]

JIBAT-METCHA EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS--Ambo (ENA)--The number of schools and students in Jibat-Metcha province of Shoa region has more than doubled since the onset of the Revolution, thus providing better educational access to the local community. The number of elementary schools, which was only 25 in pre-revolution Ethiopia, has now reached 121 while that of the pupils has increased five times. Comrade Tamiru Yadeta, spokesman for the provincial schools office of Jibat-Metcha, told ENA that the number of teachers both in government and community operated schools has significantly increased and reached nearly 500. The educational radio programme of the Ministry of Education is also highly popular in the province. Regular classes in some 123 schools are supported by broadcast programmes. The eight literacy phases so far conducted throughout the nation had also positive impact in this part of the country. Nearly 90,000 adults who followed classes were declared literate by the end of the last literacy phase. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 27 May 83 pp 1, 5]

CSO: 3400/1510

ARTICLE TRACES DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

London WEST AFRICA in English 30 May 83 pp 1234-1235

[Text] Appiah Sackey traces the progress of Ghana's trade union movement since the December 31 revolution.

BETWEEN January and April this year, the 17 national unions of the The Trades Union Congress (TUC) of Ghana have held their extraordinary national delegates' conferences at which efforts at democratic reform and reorganisation within the labour movement have been assessed and, in many cases, given formal recognition.

In the ferment of political struggles that followed the military uprising of December 31, 1981, workers of Accra and Tema, led by the just formed Association of Local Unions, took over the Congress Hall of the TUC in a mass militant action. The then leadership of the TUC was declared overthrown and the constitutions of the national unions as well as the overall TUC itself were declared suspended. Interim management committees (IMCs) were then set up to lead the national unions and the Congress with the task of restructuring and effecting democratic reform within the trade union movement.

The mass militant action of April 29, 1982, which resulted in the overthrow of the old leadership of the Ghana TUC, can be said to have been the culminating point of long years of struggle against bankrupt trade union leaders who had entrenched themselves in power and who were far removed from the mass membership of the unions. The old labour lords were accused of corruption and being insensitive to the needs of workers. Mr. E. K. Aboagye, the Chairman of the IMC of the TUC, describes the situation as follows: "The old leaders did not genuinely represent and seek to advance the interests of workers. There was no real democracy in the labour movement."

In most of the unions, amid enthusiastic support from the mass membership but stiff opposition from the deposed leaders and other vested interests in the largely bureaucratised TUC set-up, the IMCs began to apply themselves to their tasks. Among their principal activities were the organisation of political rallies and educational seminars, struggles over collective bargaining agreements and against threats of lay-offs of workers, the exposure of corrupt practices within the unions and the reorganisation of the administration.

Between October 15-17 last year, an emergency national delegates' conference of the whole TUC which took place in Kumasi gave the IMC leadership the mandate to carry out the restructuring and democratisation exercise that had been initiated with the April 29 takeover, and to set out guidelines for that. The IMC of the TUC was also mandated to review the Constitution of the TUC and to see to the pursuit of all national and international affairs of the labour movement pending the election of permanent officers.

On January 28 this year, three national unions — the Local Government Workers' Union, the Public Services Workers' Union and the Health Services Workers' Union — opened their extraordinary national delegates' conferences. These were followed by the conferences of the Public Utility Workers' Union, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union and the Construction and Building Workers' Union in the first two weeks of February.

The Teachers and Educational Workers' Union, the General Agricultural Workers' Union, Mine Workers' Union and the

Timber and Wood Workers' Union next held their conferences. Subsequently, the rest of the national unions including the Post and Telecommunications Workers' Union, the Ghana Private Road Transport Union, the Railway Workers' Union and the Railway Enginemen's Union have also held their national conferences.

The Maritime and Dockworkers' Union (MDU) conference was the only one which could not successfully go through its planned business session as a number of delegates staged a walkout when it came to the time for the election of substantive officers for the union. There were allegations of falsification of nomination papers which could not be resolved there and the end, the rest of the delegates mandated the IMC of the MDU to continue in office until a new conference of the union was organised.

In the main, the national delegates' conferences were devoted to the assessment of the work of the IMCs over the period since April 29 last year, the state of the industry or service within which the unions operate, and the present national situation of Ghana. New constitutions have been promulgated by all the unions to formally recognise and reflect the restructuring exercise and reforms in the unions. New substantive officers have been elected for the next four years. All these constitute a prelude to the forthcoming congress of the TUC scheduled for late May.

The results of the national conferences of the 17 national unions of the TUC are rather mixed though an overall tendency of advance towards the building of a more militant and democratic trade union movement can be discerned.

The decision by the delegates at the Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU) conference in Kumasi to exclude learner-drivers and mates from the jurisdiction of the union and to consider porters as employees of the union clearly represents a step backward. Not only does that decision cut out a large section of persons engaged in the transport business from membership of the GPRTU but it also leaves the union as mainly an organisation of petty-property owners (transport owners and owner-drivers). The reduction of the worker content of the union leaves it as something less of a trade union and deprives the body of some militancy.

On the positive side, the exposure of the high level of corruption of the old trade union leaders at many of the conferences constitutes a vital factor in the attempts to

rid the unions of corruption and to make union leaders accountable to the mass membership. The issue of the use to which union funds are put, it is worth noting, has always been a thorny one in the Ghana labour movement.

In most cases, a high level of appreciation was shown for the work of the interim leadership of the unions. This was reflected in the election of IMC members to substantive offices in the unions. The national chairmen of the IMCs of the Public Services Workers' Union (Mr. K. Opare Ababio), the Posts and Telecommunications Workers' Union (Mr. C. K. Ayiklui), the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (Mr. L. G. K. Ocloo) and the Railway Workers' Union (Mr. J. H. Anquandah), for example, got elected as the general secretaries of their respective unions. Mr. Kofi Aikins, the chairman of the IMC of the Ghana Private Road Transport Union, was elected unopposed as the full-time national chairman while the chairman of the present IMC of the TUC, Mr. E. K. Aboagye, got elected as the national chairman of his union, the Public Utility Services Workers' Union.

However, in a number of cases, some of the leaders deposed in the April 29 action resurfaced. The former general secretary of the Teachers and Educational Workers' Union, Mr. C. K. Ahiable, and the former national chairman of the Posts and Telecommunications Workers' Union, Mr. S. B. Korblah, to give two examples, got back their offices.

In spite of far-reaching developments over the past year, a number of critical problems within the Ghana trade union movement remain unresolved and may remain so for some time to come. There is, first, the problem of the role of the administrative staff of the unions. These officers have bureaucratised the trade unions and created a situation which prevents democratic participation in union affairs by the mass of unionised workers. The influence of Industrial Relations Officers (IROs) who are employed to serve as links between the mass of unionised workers and their national leaders, for example, prevents workers from developing qualities of leadership through championing their own struggles on the basis of their own initiative, strength and militancy. Many of the IROs and members of staff employed by the unions have grown into powerful labour lords who dominate the affairs of the national unions and determine their character.

There is also the problem of the amorphous grouping of different trades within the labour movement as a whole. Some of the unions are not demarcated strictly on the basis of trade while there are other cases of different unions among workers engaged in essentially the same trade. For example, the demarcation lines between the Railway Workers' Union and the Railway Enginemen's Union, or between the Seamen's Union and the Maritime and Dock Workers' Union are thin ones where there could have been united and stronger unions. Unions with this problem either have an unclear character in terms of membership or possess different conditions of service for workers engaged in essentially the same trade.

Closely related to the problem of an amorphous grouping of trades is the fragmentation of the labour movement in Ghana as a whole because of the prevalence of the situation in which the Ghana National Association of Teachers and the Civil Servants Association, two large organisations of workers, continue to stay out of the Ghana Trade Union Congress.

There is, also, the problem of low level of participation of the mass of workers in union activities, a factor which relates not only to the role of the administrative staff of the unions as pointed out above, but also to the relatively low level of political consciousness of Ghanaian workers. The establishment of Workers Defence Committees following the December 31 uprising has aggravated the problem as the defence committees have creamed off the more militant and conscious workers.

Significantly, however, the trade union movement has seen itself as having a direct political role to play in national affairs since the April 29 take-over. The new leadership has been organising massive

political rallies in support of the PNDC. The voice of the TUC has been heard on almost all important national issues over the past one year.

Certainly, as the largest organisation of working people in Ghana, the pronouncements of the TUC are an important indication of the demands and the mood of the people, especially the working class. And within the political atmosphere created by the December 31 uprising, relations with the government have been quite cordial and characterised by a high degree of co-operation. However, as the social and economic hardships of the people get worse, as is happening in the country at a fast pace, this relationship may take a different turn. An indication of this can be seen in the latest intervention of the TUC leadership on the national situation. At a press conference in Accra on April 15, 1983, the IMC of TUC criticised the PNDC government for not giving enough information to the people nor engaging in serious dialogue with them to find a collective and democratic way of dealing with critical problems facing the nation.

Overall, the major goal of the reorganisation and democratic reform of the Ghana TUC has been aimed at the building of what can be described as a militant, progressive and democratic labour movement. The problems in the way of the attainment of this goal are many. But, as the labour conferences over the past few months show, modest but significant advances have been recorded in the one year period since the overthrow of the old leadership of the TUC.

At the very least, as the Chairman of the IMC of the TUC, Mr. E. K. Aboagye, has pointed out in a recent interview, "a fire has been lit in the labour movement and it will continue to burn."

ACCRA RADIO NOTES POPULAR SUPPORT FOR PNDC

AB231600 Accra Domestic Service in English 1300 GMT 23 Jun 83

[Station commentary]

[Text] Since the crushing of the counterrevolutionary attempt last Sunday, there have been nationwide demonstrations and resolutions of support for the Provisional National Defense Council [PNDC] and the 31 December process. The mass of the people, through their own organs of popular power and the progressive organizations, are rightly condemning the attempt to create anarchy in the nation and thereby disrupt the process of social change initiated since 31 December 1981. While reaffirming their pledge to resist any counterrevolutionary challenge from the enemy quarter, the mass of people are also asking the PNDC to take steps to advance the revolutionary process. All these activities and demands demonstrate the support of the people for and their confidence in the present national leadership headed by Flight Lieutenant Rawlings. They also indicate that by and large, the mass of the people are coming to see more clearly who constitute their enemies as well as who are their allies and are therefore not ready to be deceived by any person who comes forward to proclaim a so-called salvation for the nation.

Given all the developments on our national (?scene) over the past 1 and 1/2 years, and especially the continuing attempt by counterrevolutionaries to destabilize the nation, it is now time for all the popular forces including the national leadership to concentrate on how best the real interest of the mass of the people can be advanced and to avoid all complacency and foot-dragging. It should be possible, to find effective ways and means of channelling all the support, enthusiasm, and good will of the majority of the people into concrete measures to advance the revolutionary process. It is a fact that again and again, the people have demonstrated their readiness to be mobilized for national development and all other programs that will go to better their lot. However, for various reasons, the full potential of the people has not been fully tapped and utilized. It is important to recognize that in spite of the independent initiative of the masses, (?and what has been) or can be achieved through that, much is expected of the PNDC and its subsidiary bodies, like the National Defense Council, by way of providing competent leadership, guidance, and programming. This is very natural, and especially so since the people have confidence in the national leadership. Since both leadership and the independent initiative of the people are critical in any process of revolutionary transformation, we expect all sides to give of their maximum and to reinforce each other. The PNDC

especially must reciprocate the support of the people and show full confidence in them as the makers of history by heeding the popular demands being made by the people.

The 31 December revolutionary process has come out stronger from last Sunday's test of survival. But this strength will be more meaningful and significant if the revolutionary process, as a whole, is consistently advanced to meet the aspiration of the popular masses.

CSO: 3400/1540

MORE TRADE UNIONISTS LASH OUT AT NASSIR

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 27 May 83 p 5

[Article by Robert Irungu]

[Text]

MORE trade union leaders have lashed out at an assistant minister for labour, Shariff Nassir, for suggesting that salaried trade unionists should be barred from contesting during the forthcoming general elections.

They said that if he was suggesting that one man could only hold one job, then he should make a lead and resign from two of his positions.

"It is a pity that Nassir wants trade unionists barred from the elections merely because, possibly, a trade unionist has opted to oppose him during the forthcoming elections," said the deputy secretary of the Kenya Quarry and Mine Workers Union, Kariuki Kunyha.

He said if Nassir's advice was implemented the country would see an end to the fair and democratic process of elections in the country which the President and Kanu had always protected.

Kunyha wondered why Nassir singled out trade union

leaders and did not name other organisations like the Federation of Kenya Employers, Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Maendeleo ya Wanawake and Muslim and Christian bodies among others.

He said to deny unionists a chance to stand for elections would be a discriminatory decision.

Cotu chairman for Rift Valley Mr. James Omolo Kadiri, said, "Workers in this country fought hand in hand with other politicians for freedom and they should not be denied effective representation in Parliament."

Kadiri said that banning union leaders from contesting would be like a calculated move to block workers' views from being heard in parliament. He wondered why Nassir did not want trade union leaders accorded the same privileges other Kenyans had.

The Eastern Provincial Cotu chairman Mr. H. N.

Kagundu, said if Nassir was fearing some of the trade union leaders in Mombasa politics he should not involve the others.

Kagundu said the formation of Kanu labour movement showed trade unions participated in the struggle for independence.

He said Nassir should leave trade union leaders alone to try their luck from their prospective voters.

Kagundu said he would vie for the Embu North seat which is currently held by Njagi Mbarire.

Al Haj Mohamed Nasser said he would contest the Mathare constituency seat currently held by agriculture minister Dr. Munyua Waiyaki. He said the residents of Mathare had been completely neglected and left at the mercy of unscrupulous landlords.

Nasser said he had offered himself to come to the rescue of the exploited Wananchi.

'FINANCIAL MESS' OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES REPORTED

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 30 May 83 p 1

[Article by William Onyango]

[Text]

LOCAL authorities in Kenya are in a financial mess and have led to repay to the government shs. 155 million advanced to them as loans.

According to a report by the auditor-general, Mr. D.G. Njoroge, loans amounting to over shs. 140.5 m. had been advanced by the local government loans authority as at June 30, 1982.

By September 30, 1982, various councils were advanced another shs. 24.5m. this time by the National Housing Corporation.

"Unless the government clearly defines functions it has assigned to the local authorities, the outstanding arrears will not be recovered," warns the report which has just been released.

The report further blames financial problems facing local authorities on wide participation by ministry officials in questionable financial dealings.

Since 1969, councils, including municipalities with treasurers and senior staff of the finance department, have

failed to submit their abstracts of accounts. Njoroge notes.

That has made it very difficult to find any council with up to date accounts.

The report says the councils wrongfully blame the problem on lack of properly qualified staff. It notes that councils now have finance officers in senior posts who should have ensured that council accounts were prepared and submitted for audit in accordance with the local government regulations.

In the absence of these annual abstracts of accounts, adds the report, it has not been possible to fully ascertain how public funds entrusted to the councils have been used and the position of the councils' financial state of affairs.

The report calls for a full appraisal of councils' abilities to administer their finances and to carry out the functions assigned to them. It further advises the ministry of local government to give more positive assistance to the

local authorities in order to correct the deteriorating situation.

The auditor-general emphasises that if the future of local authorities is to be safeguarded, the functions assigned to them by government need to be clearly defined and specified.

Secondly, a specified and reliable source of income has to be found and provided in order to enable the councils to discharge those responsibilities and to play an effective role in the many fields of economic and social development activities of the community.

The report accuses officials of the ministry of local government of participation in the misuse of the imprest system to grant officers and councillors cash advances to which they were not entitled.

It accuses ministry of local government provincial officers of having failed to supervise and advise the councils in their administration.

KPT UNION GENERAL SECRETARY SUSPENDED

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 2 Jun 83 p 10

[Article by Robert Irungu]

[Text]

THE Union of Posts and Telecommunications Employees (UPTE) general secretary, Mr. Ali Mohamed has been suspended.

Mohamed was suspended less than 24 hours after his group had suspended the chairman, Mr. Daniel Mburu Gitau and the treasurer, Mr. Samuel Kirima.

On Monday, Mohamed claimed that the executive committee that had suspended the two principal officers was constitutionally convened while Gitau said that the meeting that had suspended Mohamed was the proper executive committee.

Ali was replaced by the general secretary of the Kenextel Workers Union, Mr. Charles Nguta, who was appointed acting general secretary of UPTE.

In a statement which was endorsed by six other members of the committee, Gitau asked postal workers to give Nguta maximum support. The decision to suspend Mohamed was also supported by Kericho, Molo, Kisumu, Thika, Nanyuki, Nairobi and Naivasha branches.

Gitau, who was accompanied by a strong delegation of more than 10 officers of the union, said the meeting had been convened by a letter and subsequent notices dated May 20.

By the letter, Ali was required to appear in the meeting and answer 10 charges against him. He was suspended because he had failed to turn up and defend himself.

The union members who attended the meeting claimed that 90 per cent of the union membership had rejected Mohamed as general secretary. They said Mohamed had called the Monday meeting in desperation since he knew a constitutional meeting was to be held, and in order to defeat the aim of the meeting.

"It is unheard of in labour's recent history where a general secretary wakes up one morning and claims to have sacked all the other principal officers as if the union was his personal company," said Gitau.

The committee appealed to external authorities to keep off the issue.

CRITICISM OF WILLIAMSBURG SUMMIT VOICED

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 31 May 83 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

In his characteristic way, former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt criticised the just-ended Williamsburg Summit. He suggested that in future meetings of world leaders should be held on a small island, in a small castle, or on a ship so as to keep the Press away.

The clear suggestion is that most of what is coming out of Williamsburg is nothing more than theatrics created for Press consumption.

There were essentially two agendas for the Williamsburg Summit — the meeting of representatives of the seven most powerful Western nations. These were missile defence policy and economic policy.

On missiles, the Americans, despite grumblings from some allies, have got some support for its measures against the Soviet Union. This much was expected.

On the economy, no agreement on lowering US interest rates and controlling the wildly fluctuating exchange rates was arrived at. It is clear that even some of America's strongest allies, such as Germany and Japan, not to speak of France, are not happy with the way President Reagan's economic problems hit their economies and the global trading system generally.

The summit recommended that a study be done on fluctuating exchange rates.

If the failure to find a solution to currency problems hurts the economies of the developed world as it does, just imagine how deadly it is for us in the Third World, forced as we are to import manufactured goods from those countries. Third World countries must trade in the currencies of the Western world. We are thus doubly trapped.

Perhaps it was unrealistic for any of us in the Third World to expect that serious attempts would be made to solve the problems that are damaging to us. Yet a simple point still remains. It is ridiculous to worry about missiles and their control if the world economy is destroyed by economic policies emanating from The Seven.

We hope that when these world leaders meet next, perhaps on an island, they will concern themselves more with economies.

Yet another damp-squib summit would be unbearable. For us, anyway.

DISTRICT TO BE FOCAL POINT FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 2 Jun 83 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

THE decision by President Daniel arap Moi to make the district the focal point for the development process in the rural areas is a realistic move aimed at not only reducing government expenditures otherwise involved but more important, a move to take decision making in day-to-day operations of the development projects, closer to the people for whom the development is meant. For progress or development to take place meaningfully the people for whom it is to benefit must be involved at all stages.

The government, following this decision, is to strengthen the district development committees and the executive committees which will from 1st July 1983 assume the full responsibility for the operations of the programmes. The district treasuries will also be strengthened and procurement services will be set up so that the districts can effectively implement the projects. Strengthening the facilities at the district level, cannot by itself, solve the problems that may arise. The success of the district as a unit in the development process will depend to a very great extent, as the president pointed out yesterday, on the co-operation and the team spirit between the government officials, the members of parliament and the local leaders. This point cannot be over emphasised for it is the essence of the matter. With the district as the focal point in the development process, it is crucial that those people at this level realise this.

The new responsibilities call for very mature and sound local leadership. The districts will require councillors and other leaders who have clear vision,

are men of integrity and who have knowledge of public affairs. The leaders at this level must be those able to come up with realistic solutions to the numerous problems that confront their areas. They have to be resourceful in the area of raising revenue for the local authorities and for development programmes and not just wait for hand-outs from government or keep clamouring for GPT to be reintroduced.

The local leaders must be men who can manage the finances of the local authorities with acumen so that much of the mess that has existed hitherto is swept away.

With the new role that the districts have been given, the local squabbling that has characterised events at that level must be minimised. The conflicts that have existed between councillors and council officials are not needed. The rural areas of the country are crying out for development, for the creation of job opportunities to stem the flow of the youth to the urban areas and for this to be done, the quality of leadership at the local level must be improved.

This is a task that falls squarely on the shoulders of the people themselves. The people must take the opportunity of the forthcoming general elections to choose the best leadership possible for only the best leaders will be able to carry out their functions efficiently and interact profitably with the government officials and members of parliament.

CSO: 3400/1509

MOVE TO MAKE COOPERATIVES MORE MANAGEABLE REPORTED

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 2 Jun 83 p 10

[Article by Zack M'Mugambi]

[Text]

ALL large cooperative societies are to be split up in future so as to make them more manageable, the chairman of Cooperative Bank, Mr. Henry Muli has disclosed. Muli further revealed that the bank would be dealing directly with the cooperative societies "instead of having to go through the unions as has been the practice in the past".

In the meantime, the bank would soon start negotiations with the Central Bank and the treasury "to see if they can allow us to charge special rates to our societies and unions".

He said that the cooperative bank would be asking the Central Bank to allow a special lending rate of between 14 and 15 per cent instead of the current 16 per cent.

Muli further said at the present lending rate of 16 per cent the borrowing cooperative unions then charged an additional 2 per cent to the societies they lent to which was not very fair.

He told a press conference that the decision to split large cooperative societies

followed meetings between bank officials and the office of the president.

Approval

Following the approval to split up big societies, it had been decided that the giant Matungulu Farmers Cooperative Society with over 17,000 members should be split into six different societies.

Muli said as a result of overinvestment, members had not been getting payments because all the crop they delivered to the Kenya Planters Cooperative Union (KPCU), as the proceeds were used to pay interests accrued from the money borrowed. Presently, the society owed the Cooperative Bank and other financial institutions shs. 50.5 million.

In order to assist Matungulu from its current financial mess, the bank had taken over the management of its two coffee farms and Matungulu House in Nairobi.

Muli announced that with immediate effect, the bank was releasing shs. 3 million for lending to societies.

LACK OF SECURITY AT KILINDINI HARBOR HIT

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 3 Jun 83 p 6

[Editorial: "A Scandalous Security Breach"]

[Text]

There is something seriously wrong with the security at Kilindini harbour. An ocean-going ship, m.v. Pardesi, disappeared mysteriously when it was under arrest last week.

The Panama-registered ship was arrested under orders of the High Court in Mombasa on May 11, following complaints by 21 officers and members of the crew that they had not been paid for two years.

Failing to pay workers for two years is a serious crime in Kenya. But an even more serious crime is to escape from the country while under arrest. How the ship's crew cut the mooring ropes from the buoy and sailed out of the port without being noticed will probably be a mystery for a long time.

It should raise very serious questions about the standard of security at the harbour. If a huge ship supposed to be under arrest can disappear, one wonders what else could happen at Kenya's only sea port.

We suggest that the matter be taken seriously by the authorities concerned. They must find out how the ship disappeared and what else is happening at the harbour without the knowledge of the security men.

Needless to say, the harbour is one of the most sensitive places in the country. As a gateway to Kenya, it is a place which should be guarded at all times.

Through Kilindini harbour all sorts of goods could be smuggled into the country. Enemies of Kenya could easily use the port to import anything to destabilise the country. Smugglers could wreck our economy if they were allowed to smuggle cheap goods to flood our local markets.

It is staggering to imagine what would happen to our society if drug-pushers took advantage of what appears to be poor security standards at Kilindini.

According to the acting managing director of the Kenya Ports Authority, Mr Joshua Kegode.

security at the port is being stepped up to ensure that no ships leave the country without authority. We suggest that proper investigations by an independent team be made to find out how m.v. Pardesi escaped.

Those in charge of security at the port must be taken to task and made to explain what they were doing when the ship escaped. This should not be shrugged off as something of little importance.

Apart from Kilindini, the general security situation along the entire coast of Kenya should be looked into.

A week before the m.v. Pardesi disappeared at Kilindini, a luxury ocean-going yacht belonging to a Swiss millionaire was stolen from Kilifi. Up to yesterday, police had no useful information regarding the whereabouts of the yacht.

The disappearance of m.v. Pardesi certainly reflects badly on the security at the port. It should be a concern of everyone that security in all sensitive areas, particularly at the port, should be absolutely foolproof.

We doubt if that is the case today.

CSO: 3400/1509

KENYA

BRIEFS

LIVESTOCK RESEARCH--Garissa, Wednesday, (KNA)--The ministries of agriculture and livestock have earmarked 100,000 acres along the Tana River Basin to carry out research on agricultural crops and livestock. The research will include camels, goats, sheep and cattle while forage such as Pakistan and Uganda fodder will be grown at the station. There will also be research on rice, citrus fruits, and all types of millet and Katumani maize. The north eastern director of agriculture, Mr. J. F. N. Waweru, stated this when he briefed specialists on rangeland management and development in the northern arid zones led by United Nations Sudan Sahelian officer, Mr. Payne, currently touring Garissa, Mandera and Wajir. The meeting held at the PC's boardroom was attended by the provincial heads and chaired by the administrative officer in the PC's office Garissa, Mr. M. M. Tiema. Waweru, said the government had compensated local farmers currently cultivating at Korakora on both sides of Garissa and Tana river districts by providing them with alternative land to pave the way for the research station to be established in the area. [Text] [Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 2 Jun 83 p 11]

CSO: 3400/1509

MP'S STAGE 'ANTI-S. AFRICAN DEMONSTRATION'

MB211320 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1309 GMT 21 Jun 83

[Excerpts] Maseru, 21 Jun, SAPA--The Lesotho National Assembly in Maseru adjourned in uproar today when government benches staged what observers described as an "anti-South African demonstration."

Rowdy scenes greeted an attempt by the pro-South African opposition leader, Mr Charles Mofeli's attempt to question the prime minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, who had just delivered a statement on the security situation in Lesotho.

Referring to the arrest of an alleged South African spy and hostilities against Lesotho, Chief Jonathan said the security position he had outlined in April had continued unabated in spite of Lesotho's attempts to co-exist peacefully with South Africa.

"We have made protests and pleas and we have also initiated meetings of the two sides but there does not seem to be any reciprocation and hostilities against us have continued," he said.

He also alleged South Africa was delaying the supply of defense equipment in transit to Lesotho.

On the alleged South Africa spy, Mr Lizo Mona, arrested in Quthing, the prime minister said Mr Mona was "a part of the extensive network of spys and agents which has been built up in Lesotho."

He said part of the mission of these spys was to identify and monitor refugees of the African National Congress who South Africa had claimed had military bases in Lesotho.

Chief Jonathan said this claim was still heard in spite of Lesotho's assurances that there were no ANC bases in the country and that Lesotho only gave humanitarian asylum to South African refugees of all political shades.

His government has invited South Africa to visit Lesotho to point out the alleged ANC bases but no response had been forthcoming. Instead, he said, South Africa had continued with her unsubstantiated accusations.

Chief Jonathan said it was apparent that "we are being used as scapegoats for problems for which we are not responsible."

The rowdy scenes broke out when government MPS heckled the opposition United Democratic Party leader, Mr Mofeli, when he tried to put a question to Chief Jonathan after his address.

Shouting "SA Agent, sit down, sellout" and hammering on their benches, government members forced the speaker, Mr J. T. Kolane, to adjourn the sitting. The house was expected to set again later today, after Mr Kolane had consulted the party whips on discipline, order and respect and the right of members to ask questions.

Observers believe the uproar was for the benefit of the diplomatic corps present, to show government members' dislike of Mr Mofeli for his pro-South African stand. He called for diplomatic ties with South Africa.

The uproar drowned out Mr Mofeli's question and journalists present were unable to hear what he said.

CSO: 3400/1568

LESOTHO

MINISTER TO KEEP PARTY MEMBERSHIP

MG201834 Maseru Domestic Service in English 1130 GMT 20 Jun 83

[Text] The minister of foreign affairs, the Honorable E. R. Sekhonyana, has dismissed as malicious nonsense reports by the South African official news media, the South African Broadcasting Corporation, that he is one of some cabinet ministers allegedly intending to quit the ruling Basotho National Party in retaliation to Lesotho's diplomatic relations with European socialist countries.

Speaking in an interview with Radio Lesotho this morning, the minister said that he knows that South African authorities know that the attacks that took place in that country were not planned from Lesotho by the ANC refugee community. The minister also noted that he was aware of how sophisticated the South African intelligence machinery is, but expressed great doubts whether it took any effort to sift the information it gathers.

He pointed out that the fact that South Africa continues to rely and act upon false information it receives from Lesotho's enemies, such as the so-called Lesotho Liberation Army [LLA], was further proof that the Pretoria regime was intent on its campaign to destabilize the Southern African region. He said South Africa's collusion with terrorist movements like the LLA, UNITA and the Mozambique National Resistance was not internationally known.

CSO: 3400/1568

NINE NEW MINISTERS JOIN JUGNAUTH'S GOVERNMENT

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 28 Mar 83 pp 1, 8

/Text/ A new government was constituted this morning. Headed by Mr Aneerood Jugnauth, it is composed of 16 ministers (compared with 19 in the former government). Mr Jugnauth called upon nine new ministers to join the seven who remain in their posts.

The new ministers are Messrs

Anil Gayan, minister of affairs, tourism and emigration, succeeds Mr Jean-Claude de l'Estrac.

Sylvio Michel, minister of youth and sports (MMM), succeeds Dr Bundhun who was transferred to social security and employment,

Armoogum Parsooramen (PSM), minister of education, arts, culture and leisure, succeeds Mr Jaddoo and also assumes Mr Rama Poonoosamy's responsibilities.

*Satteanund Peerthum, minister of labor and industrial relations, replaces Mr Jayen Cuttaree.

Dwarkanath Gungah, minister of housing, lands and urban planning, replaces Mr L. Baligadoo.

Karl Offman, minister of economic planning and development (PSM), succeeds Mr Kailash Ruhee.

Lutchmeeparsadsing Ramsahok, minister of local government (MMM), replaces Mr P. Koonjoo.

Mahyendra Utchanah/, minister of energy and communications (MMM), replaces Dr Swaley Kasenally.

Jugdiah Goburdhun, minister of health (MMM), replaces Mr Jocelyn Seenyen.

Mr Kader Bhayat, minister of industry and commerce, will replace Mrs Shireen Aumeeruddy-Cziffra as attorney general while retaining his current functions.

Mr Harish Boodhoo retains information and cooperatives; Mr Deerpalsingh, agriculture; Dr Beedassy, works; and Mr Serge Clair, the minister of Rodrigues.

Mr Aneerood Jugnauth takes over the finances portfolio, replacing Mr Paul Berenger.

The new ministers met with Mr Aneerood Jugnauth in his office at 9:30 this morning and then went to the Alcove to be sworn in.

The new government includes 10 MMM ministers, 5 PSM /Mauritian Socialist Party/ ministers and one OPR /Organization of the Rodrigues People/ minister. It will be supported by a small parliamentary majority.

The ministers of the new Jugnauth government are now known. No surprises at first glance since their loyalty to the prime minister is well-known. On the other hand, it would have been necessary to wait until the last minute to know whether the Fraternal Organization /OF/ was going to support the new government and whether its founder, Sylvio Michel, would be a minister.

Mr. Sylvio Michel: 41, new minister of youth, is one of the founders of the Fraternal Organization. It is known that Mr S. Michel has had some differences with the former MMM secretary general; and the support of the OF for the new Jugnauth government surprises no one and has just ended their seven-year alliance with the MMM. Mr Sylvio Michel, former CATHOLIC LIFE journalist, entered active political life in 1975. He has been a parliamentary representative from Caverne-Phoenix.

Mr Dwarkanath Gungah, 41, new minister of housing, is another career teacher. He teaches at the St.-Esprit school. By nature reserved, he has played an unobtrusive role in the legislative assembly. He is a parliamentary representative from Flacq/Bon Accueil.

Mr *Lutchmeeparsad Ramsahok, 34, new minister of local government, is a militant trade-unionist of long-standing, since the MMM era. He has held, among other positions, the presidency of the General Workers Federation from 1975 to 1979. Member of the Central Committee of the MMM, he has represented the Mahebourg/Plaine Magnien district since 1976.

Mr Anil Gayan, minister of foreign affairs, 33, lawyer, economist, is known particularly for his competence in maritime law. He has been closely associated with every stage of the UN negotiations on the rights of the sea. Mr Anil Gayan was recently invited by the Seychelles judicial authorities to help them with their proceedings against the mercenaries from the last coup on their archipelago. Parliamentary representative from Curepipe/Midlands.

Mr Karl Auguste Offman, 41, minister of economic planning, is a member of long standing of the Catholic Association. A member of the Young Worker's Catholic Association, he studied at Claver House in London. Administrative secretary of the PSM, he spent a short time with the UDM. He is a parliamentary representative from the Curepipe/Midlands district. Mr Armoogum Parsooramen, 33, minister of education, is currently president of the Public Accounts Committee. He should have been minister in the first MMM/PSM/OPR government. Passed over, he nevertheless continued to play a primary role within his party, the PSM, of which he is president. Mr. Parsooramen holds a BA in Administration from the University of Mauritius. He is a parliamentary representative from Grand-Baie/Poudre d'Or.

Mr Utchanah, 31, minister of energy, is headmaster of a high school in the North of the country. Defeated in the 1976 elections, he was elected last year along with the prime minister, Mr Aneerood Jugnauth, in the Piton/Riviere district of Rempart. His loyalty to the prime minister is unquestioned.

Mr Jugdish Goburdhun, 36, minister of health, is one of the founders of the Mauritius Planters' Association, an organization which is very active among small sugar cane planters. Mr J. Goburdhun understands very well the realities of the sugar industry. Mr J. Goburdhun is a parliamentary representative from Montagne-Blanche/GRSE.

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CSO: 3419/930

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICS, ECONOMY STRESSED

London WEST AFRICA in English 23 May 83 p 1250

[Article by Onyema Ugochukwu]

[Text] Managing the Nigerian economy this year was guaranteed from the beginning to be a difficult undertaking, and it is made no easier by the fact that it is also a general election year. Faced with a foreign exchange crisis, the government had in January introduced additional import bans and licencing for raw materials imports. The idea was to keep imports as low as possible while trying to clear a backlog of trade debts that was becoming increasingly embarrassing. Predicated on that was a hope that oil exports will improve and make life a little easier for the government.

Since then, things have worsened considerably. Oil production has been slow in picking up, even after a hefty price cut; the trade debts have grown, and foreign banks, in consequence, have stopped confirming Nigerian letters of credits. Negotiations with the banks to convert some of the debts into loans have moved very slowly.

The impact of these developments on the local economy has been, inevitably, quite drastic. Manufacturers unable to obtain raw materials because of difficulties in getting import licences and paying foreign suppliers have cut-back on production; most, according to the President of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria, Chief Jerome Udoji, are now operating at a fraction of their capacity. Shortages of consumer goods have developed, occasioning price rises reported to be up to 300 per

cent for some items. And, perhaps aiming to give a more visible illustration of the depressing situation, the National Electric Power Authority has increased the frequency and duration of its power cuts on the excuse that it is having spare-parts problems.

The plethora of bad news would have been unsettling to any government in a normal year; in an election year, it is producing panic. The bad news ostensibly is good news to the government's opponents (a reflection of the cynicism of politicians in general), who show it off as evidence of mismanagement. On the government's side, it has produced a demonstration of the famous Nigerian phenomenon of "it is only politics" which apparently excuses a man from justifying his statements, when officials blamed the shortages on saboteurs, who they said bought-up and hoarded all the goods. For good measure, a Presidential Task Force has been set up, which has since decided to lift the ban on importation of some items and to undertake the importation too.

It is now fashionable to blame the difficulties in the economy on the oil glut, and it is impossible to deny that it is, at least, the apparent cause. But the root of the matter is that the economy is highly unbalanced. Nigeria has been and still is, a one commodity economy, what with oil export alone accounting for more than 90 per cent of all foreign exchange earnings. Add to that a

high dependence on imports, and you have a good recipe for instability, manifested in the booms and bursts that have characterised the economy since the 1970s. For the economy to put itself beyond having to fluctuate in line with the increasingly volatile world oil market, it has to diversify its export base, its industry would have to depend less on imported raw materials and its markets sell more of its own products. That is structural adjustment, without which any progress made in the boom years will always be wiped out in the austere years that follow them.

No matter by what name we know them, the measures contained in the government's austerity package now in force represent an attempt at bringing about such a structural readjustment. It is a critical necessity for the Nigerian economy and it is a process that would not be painless under any circumstances, certainly not under the circumstances that forced Nigeria into it. It had been hoped that the government was fully aware of the consequences of its measures and was willing to have the courage of its convictions, but statements and actions that smack of panic make one less sure.

But beyond the demands of politics it is important that the government keeps the objective in view. It would be tragic if what is clearly a necessary step forward for the economy is abandoned only because of its vote losing potential.

RELATIONS OF MUSLIMS WITH ISLAMIC COUNTRIES NOTED

East Burnham ARABIA THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 21, May 83 p 17

[Article by Abdelwahab el Affendi: "It's a Long Way from Kano to Makkah"]

[Text]

THE young man sitting next to me during Juma prayers at Bayero University mosque in Kano was listening attentively as Dr Yousuf Al Qaradawi – the dean of the faculty of Islamic Law at Qatar University – delivered a fine sermon in Arabic. After the prayers I asked the young man what he thought about the talk. He hadn't understood a word, he confessed. Some other brothers joined the conversation and I was told that the majority of the people present could not have followed the sermon. Yet Bayero University is one of the main centres of Arabic and Islamic studies in Nigeria.

This illustrates the odds against which Nigerian Muslims are pitted in their attachment to Islam. During centuries when travelling for the Hajj or for education at Al Azhar meant several years' walk across hazardous and inhospitable routes to Makkah or Cairo, the flame of Islam was kept burning here by a handful of dedicated ulama and by campaigns of renovation and revival.

This explains why the title "Alhaji" (one who has accomplished pilgrimage) is still so significant today. It also explains the remarkable sway of tradition here. This gave Northern Nigeria, in particular, a remarkable immunity to external culture influences.

One cigarette smoker who was with me on this Nigerian visit remarked that there seemed to be no smokers in Kano. I tried in vain to spot one – Kano qualifies as the only non-smoking big city in the world. However, a young Nigerian with whom I raised the question lamented that things weren't what they used to be, and smoking was starting to spread. He consoled himself with the fact that drinking is negligible.

Strong tradition also maintains a healthy respect for elders and ulama. Other traditional centres of power get their share in the process: the emirs and tribal chiefs are very influential.

Tradition is under heavy attack from several quarters but the forces of radicalism are not strong in Nigeria. The relatively radical People's Redemption Party is one of the smallest here. Other forces are at work though. Modernisation and economic progress is taking its toll.

Traditionally, Nigerian society is open and informal. It would be unthinkable here to limit the number of the people who attend a party or a feast to those who have received formal invitations. Nevertheless, some features of modern life need some measure of exclusiveness, some formality. Traffic, for example, requires some restrictions, some rules. Negotiating your way in Nigerian traffic is a nightmare. Exercising your right of way at roundabouts is for the more courageous.

Another malady which plagues public life in Nigeria is also traceable to this conflict between value and practice. Corruption, a major complaint, is seen by one astute observer as a unique type of Nigerian socialism. As huge amounts of wealth were generated by the oil boom, a large section of society was without access to the new wealth and could not get its fair share within the system. "Corruption," is thus simply the method by which the system readapts itself towards a more equitable distribution of wealth.

At any rate, judgments of the Nigerian way of life shouldn't be passed on superficial evidence or in comparison with other ready-made models. One expatriate who had lived in Nigeria for some years warned me against applying "Eastern" norms to Nigerian society – meaning the norms of the Eastern flank of the Muslim world.

In fact, my visit to Kano was an occasion for nostalgia. The city looks very much like what Khartoum would be like, if there was a little more rain and a little more oil in Sudan. Sudanese Arabic is widely spoken and every person I talked

to had been to Sudan at one time or other. Not surprisingly, these intricate cultural ties have reflected on the commonality of problems, although the problems in Nigeria are more acute due to bigger population and the relative affluence. The conflict between values, not all of which are not commendable, and the modern way of life is common to many other under-developed countries, and merits serious consideration.

A unique feature of Nigerian Muslim society, one which it not shared (at least not to the East), is a strong sense of longing for contacts with the other parts of the Muslim world. This has resulted in a sense of isolation among the Nigerian Muslims, as they notice that their feeling is not reciprocated. Receiving a pan-Islamic delegation led by Prince Muhammad al Faisal al Saud of Dar al Maal al Islami, the Nigerian president, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, complained that the Nigerian Muslims have been "yelling and waiting for cooperation" with, and attention from, their Muslim brothers in other, especially Arab countries, for a long time.

The delegation, symbolising for Nigerians a long yearned-for measure of Islamic solidarity, received a sensational welcome. It was also an occasion for the Nigerians to air their concerns and explain some of the formidable problems facing their continuing attempts to preserve and promote their Islamic identity.

Nigeria is a secular state by constitution so most of this work has to be done by private individuals and organisations. Many wealthy people have been willing to build and support schools for

Islamic studies, but the task is certainly beyond the capabilities and limits of individual initiative. The task of providing qualified teachers for these institutions, in particular, has proved challenging, to say nothing of maintaining them, and catering for the increased demand among a vast population.

Voluntary organisations are doing a formidable job. A group called Ansar-ul-Islam has sponsored a strong and growing voluntary youth organisation to cater for social, educational and relief work in the rural areas and some big cities. The Islamic Foundation, a 12-year-old non-government organisation, is also engaged in building and maintaining schools and providing some sort of religious information to the rural areas.

The task is still too large for the available resources. An immediate result of the pan-Islamic delegation's visit was to set up a \$650,000 fund that was immediately subscribed by the businessmen and institutions on the delegation. The fund will be used to help in building schools, and for providing teachers and scholarships in religious and Arabic studies. Other measures and suggestions were formulated, centring on easing the pressure on educational institutions and on strengthening cultural and economic ties between the Muslims in Nigeria and their brothers in other parts of the Muslim world. But the lasting revelation of the visit was the discovery of the sad and incredible gap between the potential for cooperation between the Muslims in Nigeria and the rest of the umma, and the actual state of affairs in which the umma is deprived of the fruits of this cooperation.

NIGERIA

BRIEFS

NATIONAL SEMINAR ON CORRUPTION--Participants at a recent national seminar on indiscipline and corruption in Nigeria have recommended that "all persons relieved of their posts by any government or private agencies in the past should be disqualified from holding any public office". The participants, numbering 300, also recommended that legislators should be paid unattractive allowances so that only those motivated by a desire to serve would seek elections. According to a communique, the participants agreed that President Shehu Shagari should be told "in clear and unmistakable terms that the problems of indiscipline and corruption have been created and perpetuated by the ruling elites". The participants also observed that invited representatives from the National and State Assemblies, the police, Nigeria Airways, the NET, the Nigeria Posts Authority, the Central Bank and Immigration Department did not attend. The seminar condemned the failure of representatives of those organisations to attend because "these are among the institutions where the problems of indiscipline and corruption are most rampant in the country". The seminar was sponsored by the National Ethical Reorientation Committee. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3429, 2 May 83 p 1089]

DOCKWORKERS LAID OFF--Over 3,000 dockworkers have lost their jobs since the ban on some imports came into effect in January this year, the national president of the Dockworkers' Union of Nigeria, Mr. Joshua Ogunleye, has said in Lagos. Mr. Ogunleye told the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) that since the ban came into effect, no dockworker had been able to work for more than 10 days in a month, because of the scarcity of ships at the harbour. He said that the ban had thrown the dock industry into disarray and called on President Shehu Shagari to remedy the situation by lifting the ban. Mr. Ogunleye said that lifting the ban on imports would not only save the jobs of the dockworkers and reduce unemployment but that it would also prevent operations at the ports from grinding to a halt. He said that the indiscriminate registration of new dock labour contractors by the Nigerian Ports Authority was the cause of constant labour unrest in the dock industry. Mr. Ogunleye therefore appealed to the Authority to devise a better way of handling the issue to minimise labour unrests in the industry. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3429, 2 May 83 p 1089]

CSO: 3400/1506

MARXIST PARTIES URGED TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES

Dakar TAKUSAAN in French 21-23 May 83 p 4

[Article by Mademba Ndiaye: "Identify and Resolve the Contradictions"]

[Text] For a person who is not the member of a Marxist party to barge into a debate between parties may seem inappropriate, especially when it is a matter of saying something about the differences that some Marxist parties are setting against other Marxist parties. We are simply trying to raise the questions that are preoccupying Marxist supporters.

There are several organizations in our country that claim to represent the working class. Among these there are two that stand out, in my opinion, by reason of their extension but also by their differences: the Democratic League--Movement for the Labor Party (LD-MPT) and the Party for Independence and Labor (PIT). The leaders of these parties are mainly products of the African Independence Party (PAI), which it seems to us was a veritable political training school, given the number of leaders (including those in non-Marxist organizations) who today occupy the forefront of the political stage and are former PAI members. Is it that common origin that explains the current differences? The many splits and purges have produced individuals who each claim orthodoxy while at the same time accuse the others of being "revisionists and braggarts."

These differences, which doubtless do have some objective basis, are perceived by the majority of people as individual quarrels. Instead of calm policy explanations, the respective leaderships of the LD-MPT and PIT indulge in undoubtedly serious accusations. When the PIT accuses the LD of having been a creation of the existing government to serve as a counterweight to the PIT, who benefits from such accusations? When the LD-MPT responds by charging that the PIT has continuing contacts with Jean Collin and Abdou Diouf, who is being served?

In both cases, it is the opposition as a whole and the Marxist opposition in particular that suffer. Hence, the regime in power has a good opportunity to exploit these differences to consolidate its own power.

It is perhaps an illusion to hope for serious discussions currently between the various Marxist organizations (on the other hand, some Marxist parties do hold

discussions and produce concrete results). We at least have the right to hope that the parties will not display their contradictions in public, since these contradictions can have an impact on the opposition as a whole. It is normal for there to be differences between parties (otherwise there would be only "the" party); it is also normal for members of the same party to have differences in viewpoint on various issues (otherwise the party would be monolithic); but it is also normal that the opposition parties should resolve their contradictions within the appropriate framework without risking that they will help their opponents in their anticommunist diatribes and without casting discredit on the opposition in general.

9920

CS0: 3419/965

BRIEFS

SAUDI LOAN AGREEMENTS SIGNED--Minister of Economy and Finance Mamoudou Toure and Salih al-Humaydan, technical director general for the Saudi Development Fund [SDF] yesterday afternoon signed two loan agreements totaling 31.67 million Saudi riyals (equivalent to 3.167 billion CFA francs). These funds will provide part of the financing for the following road projects: Kedougou-Saraya (25 million Saudi riyals) and Ouroussogui-Bakel (6.67 million Saudi riyals). Completion of these two main connectors, at an estimated total cost of U.S. \$22.3 million, will provide better road service to Senegal-Oriental, an area which, according to Mamoudou Toure, "will be the future focus of development in Senegal, including development of the Senegal river and exploitation of the Bakel iron deposits." Construction of these two roads is scheduled to be completed in December 1984. The SDF has in the past few years also participated in other projects undertaken by the Senegalese Government, in particular, the national food self-sufficiency program, development of the Anambe basin and development of the Senegal river. The SDF has also helped to strengthen and maintain Senegal's balance of payments through a loan of U.S. \$50 million granted in December 1980. The SDF is also being called on to play a major role in other, no less important, projects: the SAED [expansion unknown] crop irrigation program, rural development in Senegal-Oriental, etc. The minister of economy and finance commented that the SDF participation is even more effective in that "it corresponds to the concerns and priorities defined by the Senegalese Government and conforms to the aspirations of our people." He said that the agreement just signed demonstrates the vitality of the cooperation ties between Senegal and Saudi Arabia. "It is evidence of the solidarity and complementarity between our two countries and between the Arab World and Africa." Mamadou Toure expressed the hope that this cooperation will continue to strengthen. [By A. Fall] [Excerpt] [Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 18 May 83 p 3] 9920

DANISH FINANCING AGREEMENT SIGNED--Mamadou Toure, the minister of economy and finance, and Karl Frederick Hasl, the Danish ambassador to Senegal, yesterday morning signed a financing agreement under which the Kingdom of Denmark grants Senegal a loan totaling 7 billion CFA francs, interest-free, and repayable in 25 years with a deferral of 7 years. These funds are intended for implementation of the second phase of the Casamance electrification project and the purchase of a coastal patrol boat in order to better protect our fishing resources. The Danish ambassador described this as his country's contribution to Senegal's economic development, "for strengthening of the bilateral

cooperation relations between the two sides." A delegation of the Danish Agency for International Economic Cooperation Development visited Senegal in . At the conclusion of that visit, the parties agreed in principle on Danish financial support to this country for priority development projects. The loan agreement signed yesterday morning, for a total of 165 million Danish crowns, is the fifth of its kind in Denmark's assistance to Senegal's development efforts. [By M. Mbodj] [Excerpt] [Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 19 May 83 p 3] 9920

NEW CHINESE MEDICAL MISSION--(APS)--Cheikh Hamidou Kane, minister of plan and cooperation, and Zhu Xiansong, charge d'affairs of the Chinese embassy, yesterday morning signed a draft agreement providing for the sending of a Chinese medical mission to arrive in December. The medical mission, the fifth since the signing of the first agreement in December 1974, will be based again in Casamance, where the work has been highly praised by the people and administration. The members of the third mission were all awarded national decorations in 1981. The role of the 17-member medical mission will be to cooperate closely with Senegalese medical personnel, particularly in Casamance, in caring for the sick and teaching traditional Chinese methods through practical experience. During the signing ceremony, Cheikh Hamidou Kane, on behalf of the government and the Senegalese people, praised China's important and diversified assistance to Senegal, particularly in the medical area, one of the most important after sports and agriculture. [Excerpt] [Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 21-23 May 83 p 6] 9920

ECONOMIC GROWTH RATE ENVISAGED--The National Assembly, meeting yesterday under the chairmanship of Mr Habib Thiam, examined and adopted the bill on readjustments in the sixth economic and social development plan. The readjusted plan includes the major objectives outlined in the head of state's directives to the Economic and Social Council a few weeks ago. The plan provides for the financing of investments totalling 667 billion CFA francs. According to the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Assembly, these investments should be equivalent to 529 billion CFA francs of the fixed assets necessary to produce an average annual economic growth of 3 percent envisaged for the planned period. About 97.5 percent of these investments are meant for national projects while 2.5 percent are for local and communal projects. The chairman specifies that despite a relative drop in global investments, the amount allocated to local and communal projects has increased by 2.6 percent compared to the initial plan. [Text] [AB230915 Dakar Domestic Service in French 0700 GMT 23 Jun 83]

CSO: 3419/997

CHINESE YOUTH FEDERATION MISSION ARRIVES FOR TALKS

Meetings Scheduled

Victoria NATION in English 23 May 83 p 2

[Text] A high-ranking delegation from the All-China Youth Federation (ACYF) arrived in Seychelles yesterday for a week's familiarisation visit that will include talks with Seychelles People's Progressive Front (SPPF) and Government officials.

The four-strong mission said on its arrival that it was here to strengthen friendship and co-operation between the youth movements of Seychelles and People's Republic of China.

Led by Mr. He Guanwei, the ACYF Vice-President and Secretary of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League (CYL), the delegation includes other senior staff from the ACYF's General Office and the political economy section and international liaison department of the CYL.

They were met at the airport by Mr. Ralph Adam, the Principal Secretary for Youth and Defence, and Mr. Yang Guangren, the Chinese Charge d'Affaires in Seychelles.

Over the next week, the visitors will confer with Colonel Ogilvy Berlouis, the Minister for Youth and Defence, and Mr. Guy Sinon, the Secretary-General of the SPPF.

They will also visit the Anse Royale Polytechnic which is being built with Chinese aid, and the Port Launay National Youth Service Village. SAP

Visits Reported

Victoria NATION in English 25 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] The All-China Youth Federation (ACYF) delegation now in Seychelles for talks with leading SPPF and Government officials toured the Port Launay National Youth Service Village yesterday joining visitors to the village's Co-operative Week activities.

Led by the ACYF Vice-President and a senior official of the Communist Youth League of China, Mr. He Guangwei, the four-strong youth mission from the People's Republic of China is familiarising itself with Seychelles' different youth movements.

It was accompanied on its tour yesterday by NYS Co-ordinator Florence Benstrong and senior village staff.

Other visitors to Port Launay, whose agricultural production co-operatives are holding a week of special activities, were former students of the village who are now studying to become farmers at the Seychelles Polytechnic Department of Agriculture.

The Port Launay co-operatives also received a welcome boost yesterday morning when the American Charge d'Affaires to Seychelles, Mr. Tibor Nagy handed Mrs. Benstrong a R51,000 cheque for buying tools. With the gift, the latest in a series presented to the Port Launay Village by the U.S. Embassy, came a set of 28 Compton's Encyclopedia worth R3,000.

CSO: 3400/1513

BRIEFS

GENERAL ELECTIONS--The People's Assembly will be dissolved after its next sitting in preparation for the coming general elections, its Chairman, Mr. David Thomas, announced to Members yesterday before they passed three more bills in the 21st meeting of their four-year term. Mr. Thomas did not say when the next session would be, but under the State Constitution, the Assembly has to be dissolved by June 28, the date of its first sitting in 1979. Mr. Thomas also announced that the President had appointed Mr. Derrick Ah-Lock as the Chief Electoral Officer responsible for the preparation and holding of the elections which have to take place within three months of the old Assembly's dissolution. [Excerpt] [Victoria NATION in English 25 May 83 p 1]

CSO: 3400/1513

CHARGES OF REGIONAL DESTABILIZATION EFFORTS REFUTED

Pretoria PARATUS in English Mar-Apr 83

[Article by Sgt Ashley C. Lillie: "Destabilisation in Southern Africa in Perspective"]

[Mar 83 pp 48, 49, 51]

[Text]

"SOUTH AFRICA remains bent to fully prosecute its military objectives of setting front-line states ablaze," insisted the Harare newspaper, the Herald, following the death of three South African soldiers in Zimbabwe.

WRITING a few months after Zimbabwean independence, Mr Peter Vale, a senior lecturer in International Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand, said a stable Zimbabwe was important for South Africa? and today (as then) this holds true for Zimbabwe as well as all other countries on the sub-continent. However, accusations of destabilisation are constantly levelled against the RSA.

Owing to its physical involvement in pre-emptive or hot pursuit strikes into neighbouring states, which happen to be sheltering guerrillas with antagonistic intentions towards the Republic of South Africa or South West Africa/Namibia, the SADF, as an organ of the South African State, has become the institution which is most often accused of pursuing a deliberate policy of destabilisation against South Africa's neighbours.

Not only the Frontline states make accusations of destabilisation. South Africa contends that those states harbouring Communist forces or guerrilla movements which are intent on overthrowing the present South African Government are themselves aiming at a policy of destabilisation in Southern Africa.

The crux of the argument put forward by the Black states is that South Africa is bent upon a policy of keeping them economically and militarily weak and vulnerable, leaving

babwe. This statement, one of many in a similar vein made by either individuals or the media throughout the world, ought not to be either disparaged or lauded without seriously considering its purpose, implications or indeed its accuracy.

Pretoria in a position of supremacy which would enable her to maintain the status quo in the Republic.

These conflicting accusations leave one somewhat confused and a careful look needs to be taken at the question of destabilisation on the sub-continent.

What is destabilisation?

ALTHOUGH charges of destabilisation in Southern Africa have been bandied about for some time, attempts have only recently been made to arrive at a definition of the term. In a SABC-TV interview on 11 October 1982 the Minister of Defence, Genl Magnus Malan, defined destabilisation as "actions aimed at creating a situation in a country whereby you can disrupt the country or overthrow the Government".

According to Prof Deon Geldenhuys of the Political Science Department at the Rand Afrikaans University, on the other hand, "the destabiliser's primary objective is an avowedly political one. Essentially, he wishes to promote (or force) profound political changes in the target state. These may or may not involve structural change — in effect toppling the regime in power — but certainly

would involve major changes in the target's behaviour, a situation some Black states are advocating towards South Africa⁴

"At the very least, the destabiliser demands a fundamental shift or reorientation in the target state's policy vis-à-vis the destabiliser. The destabiliser may in addition want a drastic change in the target's domestic policy; this would require the target to abandon or at least significantly alter its political leanings, either by moderation or radicalisation"

Prof Geldenhuys warns that destabilisation means different things to different people: what for a target state (a state which is, or perceives itself to be, subjected to destabilisation by another) constitutes destabilisation, may for the "offending" state represent no more than the legitimate protection of its national interests

Destabilisation takes various forms, but the two which South Africa is usually accused of using are military action and economic pressure. As destabilisation is intended to cause the target country considerable dislocation in whatever sphere is being attacked, acts perpetrated must cause more than irritation or discomfort. For this reason the objective would appear to be to produce serious hardship for the population who will then direct their frustrations and fury at their government which will be compelled to reconsider its antagonistic attitude towards the destabiliser.

Another technique (often attributed by the Black states to South Africa) is that whereby support is lent to disaffected groups in the target state, with these groups then opposing the party in power — whether their objective is to overthrow the government or to force it to attempt a political compromise with the opposition. This strategy supposes that the destabiliser finds the dissatisfied groups ideologically more acceptable than those governing

Support, says Prof Geldenhuys, can take on many forms including expressions of solidarity, political training, humanitarian aid and military assistance. Military support can assume more or less covert forms: providing arms and equipment, recruiting and arming mercenaries, sending own military personnel as advisers or as combatants blended into the local forces, or as a force in its own right.

Stability

ACCUSATIONS of destabilisation levelled against South Africa inevitably give rise to the question of whether stable conditions actually exist in the alleged target states or would exist were it not for the attempts at destabilisation. It is necessary to answer this problem as a policy of destabilisation presupposes that stable conditions do

or would in fact exist in the state which claims it is being destabilised.

Being the most powerful state, both economically and militarily, in Southern Africa South Africa obviously has the most to lose in the event of instability on the subcontinent. Internal situations in countries inevitably have repercussions for their neighbours and this is of critical importance in Southern Africa where countries are economically highly interdependent. Politically mature and economically stable countries are more likely to have more moderate political views and vice versa.

Stability in the region would make conditions far more favourable for the Western economic system, creating a situation in which Communism would be deprived of a breeding ground and conceivably even defeated. It is in South Africa's own economic interests to prolong or encourage stability so that South Africa will be able to fulfil the rôle for which it is so ideally suited as the workshop of Black Africa.

White South Africans are as much Africans as their Black fellow countrymen or Blacks in the rest of the sub-continent and have as much to lose as them should the area degenerate into chaos and anarchy.

One more difficult question to be considered when viewing the whole destabilisation controversy in Southern Africa is whether, in the light of the political climate in the region, South Africa has reason — as seen from its point of view — to destabilise these states. Conversely, it should be asked whether the Black states — again seen from their angle — have reason to expect destabilisation by South Africa.

"Targets for destabilisation"

OVER the course of the last few years no fewer than four of South Africa's neighbours have "through their actions and pronouncements" identified themselves as targets for her so-called destabilisation policies, namely Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Lesotho.

These states see themselves as targets for either South African military operations (whether overt or covert) or economic measures and to understand why they believe themselves to be subject to destabilisation one has to look at their claims, the validity of such and possible reasons for the claims being made.

Zimbabwe

ZIMBABWE is seen as the major sufferer of South African economic measures

and also claims to be a target for South African military activities. Ever since the independence of Zimbabwe, relations between that country and South Africa have been somewhat strained. South Africa was caught off-balance with the outcome of the election in Zimbabwe, having expected a victory for the less radical groups.

The unenviable task of restructuring a society torn by warfare faced Mr Mugabe on his accession to power and although he gained certain advantages in that the war had stopped, Zimbabwe had international recognition, sanctions had been lifted and he had a strong government, but there were also disadvantages. These included a shortage of capital for some of the bigger projects launched; a shortage of skilled manpower, resulting from the exodus of Whites; inflation which was in fact imported as well as being caused by the minimum wage regulation; Black unemployment which caused considerable instability — and the split between the two factions of the old Patriotic Front. Since independence the problem of the split in the PF has produced instability, although it has never been in South Africa's best interests to wish any political instability on Zimbabwe or to hope that Mr Nkomo would topple Mr Mugabe. The reason for this is that in the event of Mr Nkomo gaining power, it would be with the aid of the Russians, while under Mr Mugabe, Russian influence has been kept to a minimum.

It was a foregone conclusion, when Mr Mugabe took over power, that diplomatic relations between the two countries would be broken. Mr Mugabe accused South Africa's mission in Salisbury of recruiting Black and White Zimbabweans for the SADF and for "subversive" operations against Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola.

By insisting that no guerrilla bases for operations against South Africa will be permitted inside Zimbabwe and that trade and transport links with South Africa will be maintained, Mr Mugabe has not pampered the hardliners in his country. From the start, however, he has adopted a strong anti-South African line.

Moderate economic policies followed by the Mugabe government have their basis in the lessons learnt from Mozambique and the need to retain skilled Europeans at least long enough to train replacements.

Closely linked

Having grown, from its earliest days, as an extension of the South African economy, the economy of Zimbabwe is so closely linked to South Africa that the country's industrial financing, transport, supply and distribution systems are all strongly orientated toward South Africa. An illustration of the dependence of the Zimbabwean economy on South Africa is that in 1980 the Republic took

17 per cent (Z\$59 m) of Zimbabwe's total exports, while West Germany was next with 10 per cent (Z\$31 m), and her position in supplying imports to Zimbabwe was even more marked, with 26 per cent (Z\$105 m) while Britain followed with 9 per cent (Z\$32 m)⁶.

Speaking a year after independence, in April 1981, Mr Mugabe stated: "Our position is that we shall continue to maintain trade relations with South Africa to the extent that South Africa makes it possible for us to do so. We would hope that South Africa would reciprocate and not resort unduly to hostile acts against us . . . We are pledged to peaceful co-existence with it. We are opposed to the politics of South Africa, but we do not regard the people of South Africa as our enemies at all."⁷

Despite initial relations which, although not entirely harmonious, were not openly antagonistic, the situation has deteriorated considerably with regular accusations of destabilisation being levelled against South Africa. Central to the accusations of military destabilisation are frequent references made by Zimbabwean spokesmen to what they claim are 5 000 dissidents being trained in South Africa.

Secret army

Mr Mugabe has made repeated reference to what he alleges is a secret army, based in South Africa, being organized by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the former Prime Minister and current leader of the United National African Congress.⁸ South Africa hotly denies that it allows any Zimbabwean dissidents to train on South African territory and repeated requests for evidence from the Zimbabweans to substantiate these claims has failed to produce any information to confirm the accusations.

Despite South African denials, the theme outlined above is constantly repeated with the latest elaboration being that South Africa has set up four camps near Messina for subversive actions against Zimbabwe⁹. Zimbabwe's Minister of State in charge of security, Mr Emmerson Munangagwa, has accused South Africa of using the camps for former guerrillas of Joshua Nkomo's Zipra guerrilla army, auxiliaries of the former Muzorewa government (two), and finally to house people recruited from Zimbabwe to undergo military training in South Africa. These claims were, as is normally the case, made without producing any evidence to substantiate them.

A month before Mr Munangagwa made his claims, Zimbabwe's controversial Minister of Home Affairs, Dr Herbert Ushewokunze, alleged that former auxiliary forces of Bishop Abel Muzorewa should soon return to Zimbabwe after undergoing military training in South Africa¹⁰. He said the auxiliaries

would treat Zimbabweans in the same way members of the Mozambique National Resistance were treating Mozambicans. "They will stop at nothing to undo our progress. We in turn will stop at nothing in defending ourselves and our true revolutionary gains", said the Minister.

The incident in which three White former Rhodesian soldiers serving in the SADF were killed while on a patrol in Zimbabwe, is seen by Zimbabweans as being conclusive evidence of South Africa's intent to subvert their country through the use of force. Prime Minister Robert Mugabe said the incident marked a new development in South Africa's destabilisation programme for Zimbabwe¹¹ and appeared to be convinced that the presence of the men in his country was positive proof of his oft-repeated accusations concerning the training of ex-Rhodesians to destabilise Zimbabwe. These accusations were repeated despite the insistence of the SADF that the men were on an unauthorised mission. Rather than being on a patrol which had as its purpose the destruction of targets including the railway line to Maputo (as claimed by Zimbabwe), Genl C.L. Viljoen, Chief of the SA Defence Force, revealed that the men had harboured strong feelings of bitterness towards Mr Mugabe and for this reason had set out to free anti-Mugabe political prisoners held in a camp in south-east Zimbabwe¹².

It is difficult to believe claims that the patrol had official sanction as the killing of the men placed South Africa, and more specifically the SADF, in an extremely embarrassing position because there was no way in which their presence could be justified in terms of the stated policy "to act only against terrorist organisations which threaten the lives of innocent civilians and peace in our country."¹³

Economic sector

But what of claims relating to economic destabilisation? Zimbabwe has made some admirable progress in the economic sector since April 1980, but alongside this progress, accusations are made by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe who insists South Africa is attempting to destabilise the economy of his country.

South Africa, according to Mr Mugabe, has tried to exploit Zimbabwe's economic dependence on it to force the establishment of political and diplomatic relations. The method of destabilisation of which the RSA is most often accused is the exploitation of Zimbabwe's dependence on South Africa's railway system (the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference was established to avoid the reliance of the Frontline States on South African transport). It has been claimed that South Africa's withdrawal of 25 locomotives which were on

loan to Zimbabwe was deliberately aimed at destabilising the country. Accusations that she is deliberately trying to slow down the turn-around time of locomotives which go to South Africa, have also been made.

In reply to claims that the locomotives were taken away in an effort to disrupt the Zimbabwean economy, the South African Government maintains that it needed them at a time when the South African Railways were under a lot of pressure. Other actions by the South African Government which have been interpreted as being aimed at destabilisation include notice of the ending of a preferential trade agreement with Zimbabwe, the refusal to renew work permits for Zimbabweans working in the Republic and to introduce visas for travel between the countries. Ending the trade agreement is perfectly understandable under the circumstances as it favoured Zimbabwe to a degree where she could place quotas on South African imports without any reciprocal agreement. In addition, some of the goods covered by the agreement, such as tobacco, furniture and textiles, directly compete with similar South African goods.

The decision to withdraw work permits for Zimbabweans was a not unnatural reaction to a speech made by a Zimbabwean minister, Dr Nathan Shamuyarisa, that the Zimbabwean government did not approve of their fellow countrymen working in the apartheid state. At the same time the introduction of visas was not a totally unexpected move between two states where relations are somewhat strained.

It has been seen that there is no real evidence of South African attempts to destabilise Zimbabwe, and yet the country is undoubtedly very unstable at the present time. Zimbabwe's instability is not the fault of South Africa but rather internal strife caused by dissension and violence, particularly in Matabeleland. Former members of Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zipra forces have expressed their displeasure with the treatment of their leader resulting in a situation where farmers in Matabeleland claim that the situation is worse than it was at any time during the bush war when they could at least rely on rapid deployment of government forces in the event of attacks. Accusations levelled against the national army insist that it is "totally ineffective against dissidents"¹⁴ and evidence shows that the army is plagued by politically inspired desertions.

It would be naive for anyone to believe that Zimbabwe's problems have more than indigenous roots as South Africa, as already mentioned, would have nothing to gain if Mr Nkomo was to replace Mr Mugabe. When all is said and done, Mr Mugabe, by refusing to allow the ANC to establish bases in his country, is preferable as ruler of Zimbabwe than any other unknown quantity.

FOOTNOTES

1. Pretoria News 23 August 1982.
2. Rand Daily Mail 13 August 1980. (Now Dr Vale, Director of Research at the SA Institute of International Affairs.)
3. Rand Daily Mail 12 October 1982.
4. Gaidenhuis, D. "Destabilisation controversy in Southern Africa" SA Forum Position Paper. Vol 5 No 18, p 2.
5. Ibid, p 1.
6. Barber, J. "Supping with the devil - Zimbabwe - South African relations", International Affairs Bulletin Vol 6 No 1.

7. Sunday Times 19 April 1981.
8. Rand Daily Mail 7 October 1980.
9. Pretoria News 25 November 1982.
10. Pretoria News 19 October 1982.
11. Rand Daily Mail 23 August 1982.
12. Pretoria News 27 August 1982.
13. Sunday Times 22 August 1982.
14. Sunday Times 19 September 1982.

[Apr 83 pp 30-31, 65]

[Text]

*Angola, more than any other country in Southern Africa, perceives itself to be the target for destabilisation by military means. This impression is the result of South Africa's frequent incursions into Angolan territory in pre-emptive or hot-pursuit strikes against SWAPO guerrillas. The Angolan government allows SWAPO to operate from bases in the southern part of its territory and in so doing lays the country open to South African attacks which, while aimed at SWAPO positions, unavoidably cause some dislocation of the area. An SADF spokesman, in reply to Angolan accusations of SADF raids, said in April 1982 that South Africa had warned Angola repeatedly in the past that it would have to bear the consequences for harbouring SWAPO guerrillas or becoming involved in the war with South Africa. He emphasised that "we have stated on many occasions that we are at war with SWAPO and SWAPO alone. South Africa and the Defence Force have warned Angola numerous times not to get involved in our actions against SWAPO and that if it did, it would have to bear the consequences."*¹⁵

WHILE visiting Angola during the latter half of 1982, a West German reporter, Gerd Meyer of the Frankfurt daily, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, found a country with a crumbling economy and unable to feed its people adequately.¹⁶ He was struck by the ubiquitous queues outside food shops, not only in Luanda but in small inland towns as well. Food shortages were particularly severe in Luanda because the city was overflowing with refugees from the fighting in the south. "The capital has become too large for the agricultural capabilities of the country," he said.

Meyer found a consensus among the people of Angola that the answer to their country's problems was to be found not in Marxism but in improving the efficiency of small farms. "They know that a nationalisation of agriculture cannot solve the problems," he said.

South Africa is constantly accused of supporting Unita guerrillas operating in central and southern Angola and in this way destabilising the country, a claim which South Africa has repeatedly denied, insisting it has long been known that the Angolan government has lost control of the situation in Angola. Olga Swinzowa, sent to Unita-held southern Angola by the Paris-based Russian-language monthly *Kontinent*, reported that "Unita claims to have 35 000 well-equipped troops and I could see this

was true. There are anti-aircraft batteries, Katyusha rockets, SAM-7 missiles and rifles with telescopic sights, all seized from the Cubans."¹⁷

Further verification of these claims came from Mireille Dutail, who in the conservative weekly news magazine *Le Point*, wrote from Luanda: "It is wrong to say Unita survives only because of South Africa's backing. Unita has its own independent existence."

Foreigners abducted by Unita, some of whom had walked 1 100 km from where they were captured in central Angola, when released in September 1982, backed Unita's claims to the total support of the villagers in the areas controlled by Unita forces.

Dr Ferran Casselas, a Seventh Day Adventist missionary from Spain, commented: "I think Unita is now more popular than the MPLA. After six years of MPLA rule the population is not happy because they have nothing to eat. And the Africans like the small, commercial life, not big socialist plans."¹⁸ Dr Casselas noted that Unita forces had set up a sound agricultural system compared with constant food shortages in government-controlled areas.

One of the main reasons for Angola's economic problems is the presence of the more than 20 000 Cuban troops and civilian advisers in Angola who are paid in scarce American dollars from the country's oil earnings. Western officials believe the Cubans

will be asked to leave by the Angolans and, according to a European diplomat, quoted in July 1982: "We have established that Angola wants the Cubans out as much as we do."¹⁹ In an article headed "Angola wants Cubans to get out"²⁰ in June, Mr Richard Luce, the former British "contact group" negotiator, said President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola confided to him his strong desire to "turn the Cubans out" of his country. Mr Luce said Angola was aware of the significance of the Cuban presence and their ability to create instability in the sub-continent.

Angola's contention that Cuban troops are in the country to defend its borders against South African incursions, lose their validity when it is borne in mind that contact between the SADF and Cubans has been virtually non-existent. If South Africa's intention was to destabilise Angola and not merely attack SWAPO bases, it would be able to do so without encountering any real opposition. However, there is no evidence to suggest that this is the purpose of the cross-border raids. Contact between FAPLA and the SADF has taken place, but this is because of these troops sharing facilities with SWAPO, thus making contact unavoidable.

In reply to accusations that South Africa occupies Angolan territory, an SADF spokesman said: "The SADF has repeatedly stated that it does not occupy one centimetre of Angolan territory. It is also our stated policy to search and destroy terrorists wherever they may be. The Defence Force has no quarrel with Angola, but countries harbouring terrorists, who threaten innocent people, will have to suffer the consequences of their actions."²¹

Mozambique

A LLEGATIONS of South African support for the rebel Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) movement have become a not infrequent event. Mozambique's Frelimo government insists South Africa gives the MNR covert support but has until now been unable to provide any evidence other than documents which are supposedly minutes of meetings between the MNR and a South African official.

Increasing evidence of MNR successes is supported by growing dissatisfaction of the civilian population with constant shortages of the most basic commodities, unemployment and a declining standard of living. Mozambique's poorly equipped army of 25 000 is facing an estimated 10 000 to 12 000²² well-armed MNR rebels, who now control three large sectors of the country in Gaza province, central Manica province and Zambezia in the north.

British ecologist John Burlison lived with two separate groups of the MNR totalling

more than 1 000 men while being held captive for five months. When released in May 1982, he told how they lived in permanent base camps and were well armed with pistols, AK rifles, RPG rockets and mortars. During the five months he walked more than 800 km in groups of up to 300 men and saw no government troops. Mr Burlison said MNR guerrillas claimed to be fighting to replace the inefficient and inept Marxist government with a free-enterprise system.

The MNR appears to be operating from bases within Malawi from where they are carrying out attacks in Zambezia and Niassa provinces. Mozambique claims the bases were set up for the MNR by South Africa, a claim described by the SADF as "ludicrous."²³ Maputo is particularly worried about increasing guerrilla pressure on the Limpopo Valley, Mozambique's "bread basket". They say the guerrillas have, with South African help, mounted a fresh offensive against the country's main food-growing area and claim that several hundred guerrillas have been moved into Gaza province from training camps in the Transvaal. This claim too, has been denied by the SADF which described it as "too ridiculous to merit comment".

More remote areas of Mozambique are proving to be geographically well-suited to guerrilla warfare as the MNR sweeps through them. However, Maputo officials say the guerrillas will find it much harder to make headway in the Limpopo area with its concentrations of State farms and regular army units.

Symptomatic of the way in which Frelimo has lost control of parts of the country is the appointment of old Frelimo guerrilla commanders to posts as provincial military commanders. One of these appointments by President Samora Machel is that of independence war veteran Maj Genl Antonio Thai as army commander in the troubled Inhambane province just north of the capital. No reason was given for Thai's replacing the previous incumbent, a colonel, but the province has seen frequent fighting between government troops and MNR rebels.

By attacking a fuel depot outside the port of Beira, the MNR achieved one of its greatest successes which it claimed was a warning to the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, who had sent troops to help Mozambique to fight them. The depot handles fuel for Mozambique and its landlocked neighbours, Zimbabwe and Malawi. Zimbabwe was already experiencing severe shortages of petrol and diesel before the attack. Mozambique claimed that "South African commandos" carried out the raid on the depot.²⁴ Before the attack on Beira, the MNR high command had already ordered its forces to stop sabotaging Malawi's vital railway links to Mozambican ports. This decision followed press disclosures that Malawi's economy had borne the brunt of

the escalation of rebel activity in Mozambique's northern provinces. Malawi's crucial fuel and fertiliser supplies had been marooned for months at the ports of Beira and Nacala.

Mozambique has on numerous occasions accused the SADF of concentrating troops on its border — a claim denied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, who said: "The South African Government is prepared to put facilities for an on-the-spot investigation of the allegations of the massing of South African troops on the Mozambique border at the disposal of any member of the Press or ambassador or head of a foreign diplomatic mission stationed in South Africa."²⁹ Soon after these accusations were made, the official Mozambican news agency, AIM, reported an invasion by SADF troops, claiming the troops were forced to retreat when the People's Militia reacted. An SADF spokesman reacted to the allegation saying: "This latest round of propaganda is just as ludicrous as all other statements emanating from the Mozambican Marxist-controlled propaganda machine."³⁰

In a move aimed at refuting Mozambique claims of a SADF troop build-up, the Defence Force flew a group of reporters at low level along a lengthy portion of the 450 km border with Mozambique. A spokesman told reporters: "I've got to show you something that does not exist. This seems to be a completely orchestrated effort to make out again that South Africa is the destabiliser in Southern Africa."³¹

Mozambican claims of South African destabilisation against her are marked by their lack of evidence with the raid of January 1981 in which Reconnaissance Commandos attacked ANC headquarters in Matola near Maputo being the only one of which there is any evidence, and South Africa made no attempt to deny the raid. Accusations of South African complicity with the MNR ignore the indigenous roots and dynamics of anti-Frelimo activities in Mozambique, the economic plight of the country caused by other factors, and dissatisfaction caused by resettling people into communal villages.

Owing to the economic crisis in Mozambique, Frelimo has announced significant shifts in short-term economic policy. Although it apparently remains committed to an industrialised, socialist state, Frelimo has admitted it will have to place emphasis on small projects and self-reliance to take care of shortages of food, clothing, transport and housing.³²

Fears were expressed in Maputo during early December 1982 that South Africa might launch an attack into Mozambique, following a strongly worded statement by Mr Pik Botha that "acts of violence by the ANC who enjoy facilities in Mozambique, which may lead to follow-up operations with resulting serious implications for the people of the region,"

continue to be a matter of grave concern."³³ Talks between South African and Mozambican government officials later in the month, however, cast a new light on the problem with a political correspondent reporting that "the timing is seen in South African government circles as especially significant, demonstrating that South Africa is just as willing to negotiate on cross-border terrorism as it is to use its troops."³⁴

It is not difficult to refute Mozambican claims that South Africa is destabilising the country and as a SADF spokesman said in answer to accusations of involvement with the MNR: "Mozambique should by now have realised its Marxist policies with the resultant unemployment, hunger, poverty and civil war cause the destabilisation in that country and not South Africa."³⁵

Lesotho

SITUATED at the highest part of the Drakensberg escarpment, the mountainous kingdom of Lesotho is encircled by South Africa, a factor which has a considerable influence on relations between the countries, which recently dropped to an all-time low following the SADF raid into Maseru on 9 December 1982.

Current trends in Lesotho politics can be traced to the formation of the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) in 1952, with Ntsu Mokhehle as its leader. Mokhehle was, and remains, an outspoken opponent of apartheid, describing himself as a socialist wanting to integrate Lesotho as far as possible with the Independent African world. Lesotho's other major party, the Basutoland National Party (BNP), was formed by Leabua Jonathan in 1958 and experienced poor results in the 1960 elections which were won by the BCP.

The last pre-independence elections were those of 1965 which saw the BNP win by a narrow margin with financial and organisational support from South Africa. By presenting himself as the person best able to enter into an acceptable relationship with South Africa and campaigning among the thousands of Basuto migrant workers (the only person allowed to do so), Chief Jonathan was able to achieve this victory which enabled him to entrench his position during the next five years.

When it became clear that the BNP were going to lose the general election of 27 January 1979 [words illegible] then declared them invalid on 31 January

and suspended the

constitution. Chief Jonathan entrenched his position even further, establishing government by decree, arbitrarily imprisoning opposition leaders and banning their parties and publications. These actions inevitably led to dissent and more than 1 000 men took up arms against Chief Jonathan.

In April 1973 a national assembly of nominated members was introduced. Mokhehle, who had been released from detention in late 1971, lent the project initial support, but then withdrew, causing a split in the BCP. The split was the result of his insistence on a return to free elections and normal political activity.

Political tension which had its origin in the 1970 unrest reached a climax in January 1974 with attacks on police stations by men who were allegedly followers of Mokhehle. The situation led to a severe clampdown on the BCP, forcing Mokhehle and seven other leading members of the party to flee the country. Chief Jonathan charged that "foreigners" (ie South Africans) had helped the rebels.

Gerard Ramoreboli, leader of the break-away parliamentary group of the BCP, was included in the new cabinet following a reshuffle in November 1975, suggesting attempts at political reconciliation. Launched in 1979, the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) is the armed wing of the exiled BCP. As early as 1978 Chief Jonathan had warned of threats to national security from within and without and claimed that some Basotho had left the country for training in subversive activities. A number of bombing incidents in May 1979 were followed in November by violent clashes between the Lesotho Paramilitary Force (LPF) and supporters of the BCP in the Butha-Butha region, resulting in scores of refugees fleeing over the border into South Africa.

Refugees have presented a problem for relations between the two countries with Lesotho sending notes to the United Nations on the matter in early 1980. Lesotho alleged that the people, numbering some 770, were not refugees but had been abducted from the Butha-Butha district by the BCP and taken to Bethlehem under SA Police escort. South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, assured the Lesotho government that South African authorities "have tried to persuade refugees from Lesotho to return to their homes voluntarily."³²

Besides increasing internal unrest (resulting from the continuing unconstitutional rule

of the BNP), other factors have also contributed to relations between Lesotho and the RSA deteriorating to a point where Chief Jonathan, who was in the past accused of having received South African aid to maintain his position, has in turn denounced the South African government for supporting guerrilla opponents of his rule.

Other factors adversely affecting relations first began to be seen when Chief Jonathan made a number of increasingly sharp attacks on the Republic during the latter half of 1972, probably because he became aware of the extent to which his pro-South African attitude was costing him support among the Basotho. A source of constant friction between the two states is the treatment of Lesotho citizens and migrants in South Africa.

Relations continued to be strained throughout the 70's over issues which included Lesotho's claim to territory in the Orange Free State, her refusal to recognize the independence of Transkei, closer links with socialist countries and constant attacks on apartheid.

Accusations of South African support for the LLA should not be judged solely in the light of evidence of deteriorating relations. This alleged support is often cited as an example of South Africa's destabilising of Southern Africa. Lesotho believes there are two reasons for South Africa's alleged support of the LLA.³³ Firstly, to retaliate for Lesotho's sheltering African National Congress members and to make sure it gives them no greater support, and secondly, a deal has been made allowing the LLA to operate from the Orange Free State in return for which the BCP informs South Africa about ANC refugees in Lesotho.

As has already been mentioned, South Africa has always denied that she allows her territory to be used for attacks on neighbouring states and the Chief of Security Police, Genl Johan Coetzee, categorically denied the LLA operates from the Republic. South Africa's denial of support for the LLA makes sense when the situation is viewed in perspective. While relations between Chief Jonathan and South Africa are strained, he is essentially a conservative politician, more a traditional autocrat than a revolutionary. The conviction of seven LLA men in a Mmbatho court last year of illegal possession of weapons would seem to indicate that South Africa is not colluding with the LLA.

If South Africa was in fact supporting the LLA, the two would be strange bed fellows as Mr Mokhehle used to be, *persona non*

grate in South Africa because of his consistently critical stand on South Africa and his already mentioned leftist leanings.

When South Africa launched an attack on Maseru on 9 December 1982, the action resulted in wide-spread condemnation. The critics, however, lose sight of the reasons for the strike. It was revealed after the strike that according to information received the ANC was planning to carry out deeds of terror in South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei during the festive season. The South African Government has repeatedly warned the governments of all neighbouring countries not to allow insurgents to use their territories and facilities as springboards against South

Africa. As a logical consequence of this the SADF has always made it clear that it will not hesitate to cross borders to attack and destroy ANC bases from which acts of terror are hatched and perpetrated against South Africa.

The *Rand Daily Mail* saw the pre-emptive strike as a "natural military response"³⁴ which it was difficult to censure. By allowing ANC bases in their country, the Lesotho government's accusations of destabilisation levelled against South Africa lose their credibility. In attacking the ANC bases in Maseru, the SADF was merely defending South Africa's legitimate interests and in so doing could not lay itself open to charges of destabilisation.

¹⁵ *Pretoria News* 29 April 1982

¹⁶ *Pretoria News* 9 October 1982

¹⁷ *Pretoria News* 17 August 1982

¹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail* 20 September 1982

¹⁹ *Pretoria News* 27 July 1982

²⁰ *Pretoria News* 30 June 1982

²¹ *Pretoria News* 22 October 1982

²² *Sunday Times* 27 July 1982

²³ *Pretoria News* 4 November 1982

²⁴ *Pretoria News* 21 December 1982

²⁵ *Pretoria News* 4 December 1982

²⁶ *Pretoria News* 8 December 1982

²⁷ *Pretoria News* 9 December 1982

²⁸ *Pretoria News* 8 December 1982

²⁹ *Rand Daily Mail* 6 December 1982

³⁰ *Pretoria News* 18 December 1982

³¹ *Pretoria News* 25 October 1982

³² *Africa Research Bulletin* Vol 17 No 1 p 5533

³³ *Pretoria News* 25 November 1982

³⁴ *Rand Daily Mail* 10 December 1982

CSO: 3400/1512

SOUTH AFRICA

LE MONDE CITES ANC'S TAMBO ON RSA HANGINGS

PM221722 Paris LE MONDE in French 11 Jun 83 pp 1, 8

[Interview with ANC Chairman Oliver Tambo by Jean-Pierre Langellier in Addis Ababa on 8 June]

[Text] Addis Ababa--"Each time one of us dies, thousands of others say they will have to ensure that the death was not in vain." A few hours after the hanging of the three ANC militants, the movement's chairman, Oliver Tambo, reaffirmed in an interview with LE MONDE the ANC's determination to pursue the armed struggle until final victory is achieved over the apartheid regime.

"Those who died this morning," Mr Tambo told us, "were struggling for a just cause. Nobody can stop that cause, for which so many people have already fallen, from triumphing. Each murder, each hanging, each massacre merely feeds the desire for revenge and mobilizes us. The danger lies in the fact that the South African whites are not allowed to know what is really happening in the country. They are likely to be taken completely by surprise."

Question: Does the bomb attack in Pretoria--2 weeks ago--mark a change of strategy by the ANC?

Answer: No, there is not a change but merely a development of strategy.

We have explored all peaceful methods. For the past 20 years we have resorted to prudent and selective violence. We have attacked material targets and not individuals. We wanted to be sure that nobody would suffer the slightest scratch.

In reply to that our people were killed, imprisoned, and tortured, and it is becoming unreasonable to pay so dearly for our actions. When we attacked the Sasol oil installations we did not kill anybody. They responded by killing 12 of our militants in Nacola. During the raid on Maseru in Lesotho, they killed several dozen of our people, and their supporters congratulated them. Their own operations shown an escalation in the conflict.

The apartheid regime responded by massacres and murders. Nothing will deter us from pursuing the fight; we will carry on. The struggle belongs to the South African workers, to mothers of families and their children as much as to

armed men. The South African regime thinks that by attacking its neighbors, it will save itself, but it is mistaken. The front-line states are not directly engaged in our struggle, they are merely giving political support to the fight for our liberation.

Question: Does the ANC not fear that the use of urban "terrorism" causing an increasing number of black civilian victims might damage its cause?

Answer: Each time there is talk of civilian victims, it is whites that are referred to; how many black civilians have been killed in 30 years of apartheid? Thousands. The people who died in Sharpeville and Soweto were not soldiers. Steve Biko was a civilian. All the people hanged were civilians. That is not the problem. We are engaged in an armed struggle which has been imposed on us. When a woman or child dies because they were at the scene of an explosion, we are heartbroken. We are not fighting women and children, but soldiers. Our target is the enemy forces, the apartheid regime. [answer ends]

Referring to the prison conditions of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who has been detained on Robben Island for 20 years--conditions, which, according to his wife, have seriously deteriorated--Mr Tambo concluded: "I have received some reports in this connection. He is apparently isolated from the other prisoners. If the racist regime is persecuting our leader, the international community must protest and demand the release of the political prisoners more forcefully."

Shortly after this interview, the participants at the 19th OAU summit observed 1 minute's silence in homage to the three men hanged in Pretoria.


CSO: 3419/1007

POLL SHOWS NATAL INDIANS INTERESTED IN REFORMS

Pretoria PHOENIX in English Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] The following is the result of a poll conducted by Prof. L. Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences of the University of Natal.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF OPINION POLLS

 PINION polls conducted among Coloured and Indian South Africans on the topic of the current proposals for constitutional reform acquire a special significance at the present time. This is because up to now they have presented the only opportunity for the mass of Indian and Coloured people to react to the proposals, and hence their only opportunity to participate in a development which will deeply affect their own future.

This fact places a very heavy burden on the opinion polls. It places an even heavier burden on those called upon to interpret the results. Opinion poll results are not objective social facts — they are merely indications of trends and therefore have to be interpreted very carefully. The phrasing of questions and the reputation of the polling organisation involved can influence results. Furthermore, people interviewed often react cautiously and withhold their real views, preferring to give non-committal answers. All these possibilities, and others as well, have to be taken into account in assessing survey findings.

For these reasons one should, as far as possible, check the results of different polls against one another. Similarities between the results of different polls conducted on different occasions are much more meaningful than single findings.

In the brief analysis which follows, the major findings from two different surveys

will be assessed, (a study conducted by IMSA study in collaboration with the *Sunday Times* and this author, and a study conducted by Dr. Rhodie and colleagues of the HSRC). Only very broad and tentative conclusions are possible. The tentative nature of the results is an important consideration, since the sample sizes in the IMSA study are very small.

GENERAL ATTITUDES TO THE REFORMS

The results below relate to the general reactions to the government proposals for constitutional reform. As such they reveal political sentiments rather than inclinations as to how to respond in political behaviour.

Respondents in the IMSA survey were asked "From what you know about the proposals, do you think that":

	Coloured- Indian	
	eds	%
	%	%
The Prime Minister is going too far	8	8
The proposals are about right	10	28
The reforms do not go far enough	62	57
Don't know what the proposals are	19	7

In a separate study conducted for the *Weekend Argus* among Coloureds in Cape Town in January 1983; roughly 61 percent of the respondents expressed the view that the reforms are inadequate, thereby verifying the results above to some extent.

The impression emerging, then, is that the proposals fall short of the ideal among both Coloured and Indian people.

In the HSRC study, however, it would appear that some 45 percent of Coloured people and 48 percent of Indians felt that the proposals were close enough to their own ideas to be given a chance to work. Only 13 percent among both Indians and Coloureds disagreed with this, with the remainder undecided. Here we see a balance very broadly in favour, and only a fairly small core of what could be called hard resistance.

The proposals are claimed by the government to imply power-sharing of a type — the Prime Minister has referred to them as “*healthy*” power-sharing a somewhat ambiguous term. Among Coloureds, 27 percent in the HSRC study felt that the proposals would allow power-sharing and in contrast 28 percent believed that no power-sharing would eventuate, with the rest uncertain. Among Indians in the HSRC study, 41 percent saw the proposals as power-sharing and 25 percent rejected this. Here again, among Indians, more favour the proposals than oppose them.

Generally speaking then, the results would seem to suggest that for both groups the present developments are not a far-reaching as they would like. Substantial uncertainty exists about the real implications of the results. However, more people seem to feel that the proposals will be positive in their effects than those who believe that they should be opposed unconditionally. This is more so among Indian people than among Coloureds.

ATTITUDES TO THE EXCLUSION OF BLACKS

In this author's study, an overwhelming majority of 86 percent of Coloureds and 85 percent of Indians felt that it was “*bad*” that Blacks had been excluded from the proposed new constitution. How should this be interpreted?

In the research conducted among Indians for the Buthelezi Commission, only a relatively small proportion of some 20 percent of Indians supported the idea of unconditional majority rule, or “*one-man-one-vote*”. However, a majority of some 6 out of 10 Indians or more were in favour of various political options (mainly for Natal and KwaZulu) which suggested Black

political participation with other groups but with various kinds of minority guarantees or arrangements which would safeguard minority interests.

Generally, it would seem as if a clear majority of Indians and Coloured people see the need for the inclusion of Blacks in a constitutional dispensation, albeit stopping short of majority rule. The lack of any provisions for Blacks weakens the proposals in the eyes of Coloured and Indian people, although in the HSRC survey only a small percentage of both Indians and Coloureds would reject the proposals for that reason.

It should be emphasised that the desire to see Blacks included is only partly due to fear of retribution by Blacks. Although this is undoubtedly an important factor, the probable motivations as revealed by other research, are also that ultimately the problems of the country will only be solved if all groups are included in a political dispensation, with suitable safeguards and guarantees.

REACTIONS TO INVOLVEMENT IN THE NEW PROPOSALS

When questioned about Indian and Coloured participation in the new dispensation, the respondents in the IMSA study produced the following pattern of results:

“*Coloured/Indian political groups should:*”

Options presented to Respondents	Coloured-Indians	
	Indi %	%
Have nothing to do with the proposals	20	25
Try to get them improved <i>before</i> co-operating	31	26
Go into the new system in order to improve them	39	47
Support the proposals as they are	2	2
Don't know	8	—

The HSRC survey gives some fairly similar results. Some 62 percent of Coloureds and 68 percent of Indians stated that leaders should “*negotiate*” with the government so that their community could benefit from the new deal. (These would be broadly similar to the proportions in the IMSA survey indicating that the Indian and Coloured leaders should try to get the proposals improved, *before or after* entering into participation). The proportions rejecting the proposals outright are very

similar in the two studies — roughly 20 percent.

There is, however, a great deal of uncertainty about the proposals revealed in the HSRC study. This varies from item to item but broadly, at least 4 out of 10 Indian people and perhaps a higher proportion among Coloureds are very uncertain as to whether the proposals are suitable.

The HSRC survey results suggest that some 57 percent of Indians and 42 percent of Coloureds, at the stage of the surveys, would participate in elections for representatives to the new parliament chambers. These percentages are higher than what one would expect from the indications from the IMSA study, in which only 41 percent of Indians and 24 percent of Coloureds said that they would vote for the proposals if a referendum were to be held. Majorities in both groups say they would vote against the proposals in a referendum. Admittedly, however, some people might elect representatives for the new parliament even though they have sufficient reservations about the new system to oppose it in a referendum: hence the inconsistency between the two sets of results.

TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

Reading these different survey results together suggests broadly the following.

Firstly, minorities of roughly 20 percent among both Indians and Coloured people believe that the proposals should be ignored, totally opposed or boycotted. However, there seems to be considerable uncertainty among the remaining majorities in both groups, and firm conclusions about their likely behaviour in a referendum or election are impossible to draw.

Generally, however, there seems to be a balance of opinion in favour of leaders negotiating with the government to improve the proposals, either before or after entering the new system. The proposals, exactly as they have been stated, obtain less than a third of support from Indians and even less from Coloured people. The idea of leaders

participating in the system without trying to improve it receives very low endorsement — almost insignificant support in fact.

Since the fieldwork for these studies was undertaken, a number of developments have taken place which could influence opinions. In Natal, Chief Buthelezi has very strongly condemned the proposals and the Labour Party's decision to participate on a number of occasions. In the Cape, meetings of the Labour Party held to explain its decision to participate have been disrupted by strong opponents of the proposals.

These developments could conceivably have swung some public opinion against the proposals. This possibility, as well as the great deal of uncertainty about the proposals and the fact that the sample was small in one of the surveys (the IMSA study) indicate a need for caution at this stage.

By and large then, the results of these polls do not offer a firm basis for predicting what the responses of Indians or Coloureds would be in a referendum or an election, both of which would be accompanied by very vigorous campaigning for or against the issues.

The polls suggest, tentatively, that the parties or leaders which undertake to try to negotiate an improved dispensation would obtain greatest support, although the size of the percentage poll (voter turnout) is more difficult to assess.

The poll results give Indian and Coloured leaders at least the following guidance. The findings tend to suggest that they should **neither** ignore or boycott the proposals **nor** that they should accept and work with the proposals as they are. The results generally are a basis for leaders to grapple actively with the issue of participation and to consider carefully their **conditions** for such participation. However vague, this is the most the data can tell one.

Further, more recent and more detailed opinion survey data would help if it were to become available, but without an actual referendum on the issue, leaders will ultimately have to rely on their judgment of their own constituencies' views and of the consequences of their participation on the wider society.

SUPPORT FOR CROSS-BORDER STRIKES VOICED

Pretoria PARATUS in English Apr 83 pp 10-11

[Text]

MR R.K. Campbell, a Senior Tutor and Military History specialist, told PARATUS that the pre-emptive action against ANC hideouts in Maseru, capital of Lesotho in December, had once again highlighted the question of the necessity for and validity of such actions.

He said half-measures were no good against terrorism. "Containment is not the aim. Destruction is."

If the ANC headquarters in Maseru had not been disrupted, there was no telling what chaos and destruction would have been unleashed on the South African public, he pointed out.

He said the action must be considered in the context of the war — "for war it is" — that South Africa was currently waging against terrorism.

Mr Campbell added that political and diplomatic problems facing the RSA must not be allowed to obscure the very real military threats actually or potentially facing the country.

"The actual military threat is insurgency, the potential military threat is that of conventional war," he said.

Mr Campbell also called for more public awareness of the threat of terrorism, and rejection of the "ferocious propaganda" being waged against the Security Forces.

"To most people the problems of insurgency and counter-insurgency appear to be esoteric, far removed from everyday life and decidedly best left to the Police and the Defence Force.

"This is a dangerous misconception. As will become apparent, both insurgency and counter-insurgency are, in principle, incredibly simple

phenomena, well within the comprehension of everyone. After all, a strategy designed to be operated by simple, poorly educated people could only ever work if it were kept simple," he said.

WHY?

But why should the man and woman in the street be interested in these matters? What good could it do? The short answer was: A lot!

Terrorist organisations relied heavily on the psychological impact they made. To those without knowledge of it — they operated, their ability to strike at apparent will and then disappear was "most mysterious". Like most mysterious events it was frightening and, in turn, this could be demoralizing.

A general understanding of the process of insurgency would eliminate the mystery; certainly some of the fear would remain, but as fear of the known, as distinct from fear of the unknown, it would not disturb morale. Rather it would heighten the determination to resist.

In an article written at the request of PARATUS, which sought an independent academic view of the terrorist threat facing the RSA and SWA/Namibia, Mr Campbell said:

Remember, in an insurgency war everyone is a combatant — terro-

rists elsewhere have robbed banks for funds; detonated bombs in tourist resorts, shops, trains, aircraft; taken hostages — and killed them; attacked schools and school buses and massacred children. In Israel, Ulster and Zimbabwe even babies have been slain. Indeed, the more defenceless you are, the greater the chances are of your becoming a hapless victim of terrorism.

Likewise with counter-insurgency an understanding of the principles will enable the ordinary man to comprehend the activities of the Security Forces and, most importantly, evaluate correctly and reject the ferocious propaganda that actually is at this moment being directed against them in attempts to discredit them and destroy their effectiveness. For the simple act of expressing support for the Security Forces is one of the most important rôles the general public can play. But not the only one: it is the ordinary man who must report suspicious parcels, visitors, cars, and the odd behaviour of other people. Ordinary people must help the Security Forces trace and destroy the terrorists.

For, to use Mao's famous dictum, the terrorist sees society as a sea in which to swim like a fish. What this means is quite simple: society is the battleground; society is composed of the ordinary, everyday people within it; in short the man and

woman in the street are the battleground, the objective of the attack; the target to be seized or destroyed.

But not only are the public a physical target — ie not only do the terrorists seek to kill and maim the innocent — but the public are also a psychological target. In other words, the terrorists seek to frighten and confuse them; bombard them with terror and propaganda and undermine both their readiness to resist them and their will to support the Security Forces.

Like it or not, the man and woman in the street are the first line of defence against terrorism.

All terrorist concentrations threatening peace and security in SWA/Namibia or South Africa, regardless of where they are located, must be attacked and destroyed. So-called diplomatic considerations must not be allowed to interfere — that is the road to defeat.

The presence of Angolan or other forces must not deter such attacks; there must be no artificial limit imposed on the depth into Angola which the SADF can penetrate in its operations against Swapo. Moreover, to maximize the effect of such attacks, communication routes serving Swapo in Angola must be continually interdicted on a regular basis by ground troops or air attack. This will greatly hamper Swapo's ability to replace losses caused by cross-border raids.

South Africa must not allow herself to be deflected from these aims by the ferocious barrages of propaganda directed against her by the so-called Frontline States. They must simply be ignored. Failure to do so will not win the country one friend, lift the arms embargo one millimetre, or increase the chances of victory. On the contrary, failure to do so could lead to defeat.

Of course, the routine, unglamorous, but essential patrols, ambushes and follow-up operations within SWA/Namibia must continue.

But what of South Africa itself, and the threat of the ANC? Thanks to nature, South Africa is in a very fortunate position with regard to insurgency; while there are many areas in which viable rural insurgency is possible, few of the country's key centres are located within them. Indeed, the country's very heart is located in the Transvaal

highveld, one of the most hostile environments in the world from the viewpoint of a rural insurgent — open, flat, with absolutely no cover. Rural insurgency will be attempted in South Africa and especially in some of the National States, but it will merely be a secondary operation, designed to try to overstretch the Security Forces as much as possible. The comments on counter-insurgency in SWA/Namibia will also be applicable in this regard. For South Africa, unlike Namibia and Rhodesia, the main target will be urban terrorism.

As with rural insurgency in Namibia, urban insurgency is a two-fold affair: the underground organization provided by the party, and the full-time terrorists of the military wing.

In South Africa's case these are the ANC and Umkhonto We Siswe ('Spear of the Nation') respectively. The PAC and Poqo are now irrelevant and can be ignored. The ANC is a Communist subversive organization which is closely linked, if not totally integrated, with the South African Communist Party and which has been trying to subvert the country for over twenty years. Yet it has the most dismal record of failure of any terrorist organization in this period. Why?

Because of the vigilance of the Security Police who have constantly disrupted the ANC's underground network, thus crippling the 'Spear of the Nation'. This has been possible because of effective security legislation, allowing for detention without trial. Naturally, this legislation ~~HMS~~ because of its effectiveness, been subject to fierce propaganda attack by the ANC/SACP, its agents, fellow travellers and sympathizers seeking any excuse to attack the government, or do not realize that South Africa is not, in this regard, unique.

Detention without trial has been a feature of virtually every successful counter-insurgency campaign since 1945, and has been employed by the most impeccably democratic countries — Britain, for example, has resorted to it repeatedly; in Malaya, no fewer than 10 000 suspects were detained at one time, while in Kenya the total reached 32 000 — in April 1954 alone 16 500 suspects were detained and though many were released after processing, many were not.

Both Malaysia and Singapore possess — and use — special security legislation to forestall and defeat terrorism by the Malayan Communist Party which re-activated itself in the late 1960s; reportedly some suspects have been detained in Malaysia for the past 13 years, while illegal possession of a firearm has become a capital offence! Yet both are prosperous democracies and Malaysia especially is a multi-racial, non-racist, state. Indeed, it is surprising that Malaysia has never been cited as a model for South Africa to emulate. This may be because Malaysia clearly disproves the liberal thesis that South Africa's internal policies are the source of terrorism. To repeat: Malaysia is prosperous, democratic, independent, multiracial and non-racist — and under Communist terrorist attack. The MCP's original excuse for its campaign was to bring Malayan independence: this was achieved 25 years ago, but the MCP is still attempting revolution! Its re-activated campaign has, like the ANC's, had little success because, like South Africa and its Security Forces, the Malaysian government and Police Special Branch are highly alert to the threat.

But such an analogy is actually unnecessary: the ANC has openly stated in its own publications that reform is not the aim; rather it is the seizure of power by the ANC itself.

Although it is obvious — by virtue of terrorist attacks — that a secret ANC organization does exist within South Africa, it is equally obvious — because of the limited number and effect of such attacks — that it is very weak. This, after twenty years, is a grim situation for the ANC.

However, new opportunities are opening along with political and economic reforms. Trade unions, with potentially great economic power, are coming into being. They will be — already — targets of ANC infiltration; ANC-controlled unions could be used to help bring economic havoc to the country.

Similarly, the strategy of 'entryism' as it is called, is pursued towards key social institutions such as newspapers, the Church, universities, political parties etc, to use these as bases from which to launch

subtle propaganda attacks on the Government or other key institutions of society, such as the Police or SADF, in order to demoralize and delegitimize them and otherwise hamper them, so making it easier for the 'Spear of the Nation' to become effective.

It is imperative, in this regard, to remember that the ANC is a multi-racial organization: its agents will not all be Black! To assume, as the Rhodesians did, that all Whites are reliable, is a one-way route to disaster: even to assume that all Afrikaners, because they are Afrikaners, are trustworthy, is dangerous. All nations have their traitors and South Africa is no exception. Some of the ANC's most effective agents are, and will be, White. They will be especially dangerous.

In order to prevent such situations arising, the Security Police —

which is and always will be the main arm of the Security Forces in the fight against the ANC — must continually monitor all sectors of society regarded as sensitive.

It must never be forgotten that terrorists look like perfectly ordinary people; and the members of the underground will behave in a perfectly normal manner. Indeed, because of the absolute necessity to avoid creating suspicion about their true activities, they will appear as especially upstanding, hard-working, reliable and friendly citizens. In Italy, the young men and women of the Red Brigade often appeared to their neighbours as models of what young Italians should be. Conformity is the terrorist's camouflage.

Security Force actions are not opposed to, nor interfere with,

internal reform; rather, they are the essential pre-conditions to reform — as already pointed out, the ANC is opposed to reform and will do everything possible to disrupt or abuse the process for its own revolutionary ends. South Africa will gain absolutely no advantage by exercising restraint.

Standing on the defensive is not enough. The ANC must be attacked abroad. Attacks like that launched on ANC headquarters in Maputo and Maseru must be repeated — again and again; supply routes used to transport 'Spear of the Nation' terrorists to the borders must be continually interdicted; ANC leaders sought out and destroyed. If this is done, the ANC will have to spend more time and energy in protecting itself from attack than subverting South Africa. Containment is not the aim. Destruction is!

CSO: 3400/1512

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

NEW SACC PRESIDENT ELECTED--The bishop of the Lutheran Church in the diocese of Johannesburg, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, was elected president of the South African Council of Churches after a second round of voting at the SACC national conference in Johannesburg today. He succeeds the Rev Peter Storey, who resigned following the fraud conviction of the former SACC general-secretary, John Rees. [Excerpt] [MB220958 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0942 GMT 22 Jun 83]

CSO: 3400/1568

BRIEFS

PRICE CONTROLS ON MEAT 'INEFFECTIVE'--Minister for Livestock Development Ndugu Herman Kirigini conceded today that measures to control meat prices in Dar es Salaam have so far been ineffective. However, the minister told the National Assembly that the government would formulate ways to effect control of meat prices in the city. Replying to a question, Ndugu Kirigini attributed the increase in prices to the rising cost of living, black marketeering and corruption in the cattle business and the increase in the cost of transport, slaughtering, medicines and other facilities. He said to arrest the situation, the government was now rectifying the licensing system to eradicate unscrupulous cattle dealers and that his ministry would also continue to provide ways [as heard] to auction centers and sell cattle according to their grade. The price of meat in Dar es Salaam ranges between 45 shillings and 60 shillings per kilogram. [Text] [EA232139 Dar es Salaam in English to East Central and Southern Africa 1600 GMT 23 Jun 83]

TANZANIAN CITIZENSHIP FOR RWANDANS--Dar es Salaam--One thousand Rwandan refugees living in Mpanda, Rukwa region, will be granted Tanzanian citizenship in the near future. An assistant minister for home affairs, Ndugu Hammad Rashid Mohamed, told parliament that this is the last group of 5,000 refugees from Rwanda living in the country [to get citizenship]. In 1977, the government granted citizenship to 39,000 refugees from Rwanda. The assistant minister said that efforts to grant citizenship to refugees took a long time because of failure to fill in required forms requesting citizenship and a delay in confirmation by the Rukwa regional security and defense committees. [Text] [EA240622 Dar es Salam Domestic Service in Swahili 1700 GMT 23 Jun 83]

CSO: 5449/23

PRO-QADHDHAFI GROUP WITHIN LEADERSHIP PURGED

Ouagadougou WEST AFRICA in English No 3433, 30 May 83 pp 1284-1285

[Article by Mark Doyle and Ouagadougou correspondent]

[Text] Upper Volta has experienced its third coup in 30 months. Unlike the first two — which brought Colonel Zerbo, then Major Ouedraogo, to power — this month's unrest was an internal affair and has not led to a "change" or regime. Nevertheless, a major purge has taken place involving the arrest of the premier, several ministers and a top trade union leader. Also unlike the first two coups, a distinct pattern of political allegiances has emerged, which would appear to range radical Voltaic officers, supported by Tripoli, against more senior military men, who have the tacit approval and financial backing of Paris. The latest *bataille de tendances* has left the latter in control . . .

A few days before his recent arrest in Ouagadougou, Soumane Touré, the leader of the banned *Confédération Syndicale Voltaïque* spoke to *West Africa*. Touré, the most influential and outspoken union leader in Upper Volta, was not optimistic about the military's recent policy shifts. When the *Conseil du Salut du Peuple* (CSP) came to power last November, there had been an emphasis on creating political structures which would give the people a greater say in the running of their affairs.

Now, after the promise of another big aid package from France, there had been a shift of emphasis to what Touré called "tinkering with the economy". The only way to break the neo-colonial pattern, he said, was to break the fundamental political structures. He was not convinced that the 120-member military council intended to limit the power of "the old political class".

Two tendencies have emerged within the CSP, the first nominally led by President Ouedraogo, the other by Captain Thomas Sankara, the former Prime Minister now under house arrest.

Following a particularly strong speech from Captain Sankara, in the western capital of Bobo Dioulasso, there has been a purge of the military council, the mainly civilian government, and other political groups. Reports that the arrest of Sankara himself was ordered not by the President but by the Army Chief of Staff, Colonel Gabriel Yorian Somé, confirm that Ouedraogo is supported by senior officers in the army. Just before the arrests, tracts were distributed describing Somé as "one of the last pillars of the colonial army". The Minister of the Interior, Commandant Harouna Tarnagda, was attacked in the same tract, as was the "pro-CIA" Commandant Lompo.

So far, the senior officers have arrested Sankara; Touré; the Minister for Youth and Sports, Ibrahima Koné; Jean-Baptiste Lingani and Kiimité Hien (respectively Secretary and Assistant Secretary-General of the Government); Issouf Ba Sambo, Permanent Under-Secretary in the Ministry of National Education; Adama Touré, an education ministry official; Etienne Traoré, Secretary-General of the teacher's union; and Mamane Bankango, a teacher. Emmanuel Dadiouari, Minister for Education, Arts and Culture, may also have been arrested. The situation of Captain Henri Zongo is unclear: he organised some resistance at Ouagadougou's Guillaume Ouedraogo barracks, but may have been temporarily spared arrest in order to pacify

pro-Sankara military units at Pô, near the Ghanaian border.

The government, appointed and controlled by the military council, is said by the soldiers to be "resigning". A new Government will be formed following meetings of the CSP.

The arrest of education officials followed demonstrations of students protesting at the arrest of Sankara. Chanting "Down with imperialism", the students, numbering about 1,000, threw stones at cars, including some in the grounds of the French Embassy. Coming at a time when France had just promised 21,000m. CFA in aid for 1983, these demonstrations were worrying for the authorities.

A counter demonstration of pro-Ouedraogo elements was organised two days later. But only about 200 could be mustered to support the status quo. Again, there were clashes with radical demonstrators, but no casualties were reported. The CSP said the pro-Sankara marches were "flagrant proof" that certain "sinister individuals known to us" had been behind the unrest. The arrest of prominent personalities in the education sphere, and of Touré himself, indicate strongly that the "sinister individuals" referred to are in fact members of the *Ligue Patriotique pour le Développement* (Lipad), led by Dr. Hamidou Coulibaly. Lipad is a left-wing pressure group which has strong links with Touré's CSV and the teachers' union.

Further protests by pro-Sankara students were planned for last Tuesday, despite the wave of arrests. But, to pre-empt unrest, colleges were closed and loyal soldiers placed in strategic positions.

The events leading to the clear unveiling of a split in the CSP and then to the purge have been heavily spiced with international undertones. Captain Sankara's penchant for Colonel Gaddafi's theories had become well known over the last few months. His much-publicised visit to Libya in February aroused concern among senior officers and many saw the 24-hour visit of Colonel Gaddafi to Ouagadougou — foisted on Ouedraogo as a *fait accompli* — as the last nail in the young Captain's political coffin. Gaddafi offered to build a hospital and to contribute to the re-surfacing of Ouagadougou's badly-scarred roads.

In the week following Gaddafi's visit, eleven cargo planes of the Jamahiriya Air Transport arrived at Ouagadougou airport. The planes — five of which were officially acknowledged to have arrived carrying food aid — unloaded after dark.

During the fateful Bobo Dioulassou speech, Sankara, in the words of State

Radio, "came clean" about the ideology which he had previously implicitly supported. In Fulani, Djola, Moore and Bobo, the young Captain denounced imperialism and exhorted his audience to work for the establishment of a genuine democracy. Voltaic youth would become part of the international scene, he promised, and would soon participate in the International Festival of Youth in Tripoli.

The rest, as they say, is history. But the precise role of some of the actors who have shaped it remains unclear. Forty-eight hours after Gaddafi's visit, France's flying cheque-book, Aid Minister Christian Nucci, touched down at Ouagadougou airport. He spoke of aid for 1983 worth 21,000m. CFA, but only gave firm commitments for a fraction of it, to be spent on regional development. The rest was an agreement "in principle". Projects discussed included the dams at Komienga and Bagré, the Pourra gold mine, and credit facilities for the purchase of agricultural equipment.

The day before Sankara's arrest saw the arrival of Guy Penne, the French President's adviser on African affairs. Given the "Presidential style" of Mitterand's relations with African leaders, Penne is considered to be at least as influential a figure as Nucci. The Presidential envoy had been trouble-shooting in the immediate region, including Abidjan, before his arrival in Ouagadougou, which was briefly held up because lorries blocked the runway. The lorries were presumably there to stop the arrival of anti-Ouedraogo forces, from, one speculates, Tripoli, Pô or Dédougou — Sankara's old barracks. It was even reported by the CSP that the paratroop unit at Pô had been encouraged, via the Libyan envoy in Ouagadougou, to pull back to nearby Ghana. There, they would be provided with "support and assistance". The Libyan envoy was subsequently thrown out of the country.

Penne's arrival at such a critical time indicates that the senior officers made the purge with at least tacit French approval. Many of those officers are still drawing pensions from French colonial army days, and strongly disapproved of the younger officers' ideas of a "people's democracy" along Jamahiriya lines. Last week a majority of the CSP passed a vote of confidence in President Ouedraogo.

The "economic programme" of the CSP, which now seems to have overtaken plans for political restructuring, stresses the production of cash crops as well as declaring 1984 Village Water Year. President Ouedraogo has been invited on a state visit to Paris.

PILOT NATIONAL MANPOWER SURVEY TO BEGIN IN JULY

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 11 Jun 83 p 2

[Text]

THE Central Statistical Office will next month embark on a K200,000 pilot national manpower survey on Zambia's employment structure.

The survey is expected to help the National Commission for Development Planning in projecting the country's manpower requirements and indicate areas which have more skilled people than others.

Director of census and statistics Mr Jeremiah Banda said in a telephone interview in Lusaka the survey would even show in which area Zambia had overtrained staff.

Training of enumerators to carry out the survey would start this monthend.

The survey was recommended by a seminar held by the National Commission for Development Planning in 1982.

It will be conducted in the main areas of employment in Lusaka, Copperbelt, Central and Southern provinces.

The Central Statistical Office had carried out similar surveys in the past on a small scale.

Each year the census and statistics department sent out questionnaires on information on employees, their earnings and other salient details but this coming study would be detailed and comprehensive.

Mr Banda said the increasing importance of skilled manpower to Zambia's economic development could not be over-emphasised since current information on the country's manpower resources formed an important facet in development planning.

The pilot national manpower survey was designed to collect information on the numbers and types of employees and identify occupations where there were acute shortages.

CSO: 3400/1529

CHURCH REVIEW NOTES MORE THAN 90,000 REFUGEES IN NEED

Lusaka DAILY MAIL in English 16 Jun 83 p

[Excerpt]

MORE than 90,000 refugees in Zambia who have settled in border areas of Western, North Western, Copperbelt, and Lusaka Provinces urgently need food, medicine, clothes, fertilizers, and blankets.

According to the latest Zambia Episcopal Conference Commission for Relief and Development quarterly review, 56,000 refugees were located in the Western Province alone, by the recent United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) Institute for Africa Studies survey.

The quarterly review says about 10,000 refugees who have settled at Maheba in the North-Western Province are mostly Angolans and according to the list of requirements sent to Catholic Secretariat by the refugee office the provision of medicine to the clinic at the camp is essential and urgent.

The review said the Mayukwavukwa refugee settlement in the Western Province needs to be helped although the number involved is not too great. The camp needs food, clothing, blankets, and soap.

The 56,000 refugees living in the border areas of Senanga, Sesheke, Kalabo, districts urgently require food, clothes, and medicines, the review said.

The Catholic Secretariat said although many agencies have been helping the people in the area, a lot more needs to be done because of the discovery of 56,000 refugees who are sharing meagre resources with Zambians alongside the Angolan refugees.

The Secretariat observed that refugees mostly women have lost the support of the community and find themselves surrounded by hostile people.

CSO: 3400/1529

INDECO SHELVES PLANS FOR ETHANOL PRODUCTION

Lusaka DAILY MAIL in English 15 Jun 83 p 7

[Excerpt]

INDECO Limited has shelved plans to set up a plant to produce fuel alcohol from molasses to blend into petrol for motor vehicles because of the decrease in the consumption of gasoline in the country, a spokesman announced in Lusaka yesterday.

He said that during the past few years, consumption of gasoline in Zambia had decreased considerably resulting in Ndola Refinery which was going to blend the ethanol, operating below its economical and minimum technical capacity.

The spokesman added that with petrol consumption having decreased to a very low level and no stable export market, ethanol cannot be blended with petrol by Indeni Refinery as this would increase the problems of the refinery.

"In the circumstances, we have no option but to shelve our plans," the spokesman said.

kesman said.

Fuel alcohol which is technically known as ethanol is used to augment petroleum based automotive fuel.

Zambia has an annual output of 40,000 tonnes of molasses at Indeco's Nakambala Sugar Estates in Mazabuka from which some ethanol can be produced.

Indeco has been planning to invest in an ethanol production plant with the capacity of 65,000 litres a day, and a unit to concentrate molasses stillage for use as stockfeed.

The spokesman said yesterday that following evaluation of the techno-economic viability of the project, it had been found uneconomical to invest into the scheme because of problems faced by Ndola Oil Refinery.

KUWANI, SACIKA COMMENT ON ZCTU'S WAGE CEILING REJECTION

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 13 Jun 83 p 1

[Excerpt] The ten per cent wage ceiling and its guidelines will not be changed despite their rejection at the weekend by the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU).

This was made clear in Lusaka yesterday by Bank of Zambia governor Mr Bitwell Kuwani and chairman of the Incomes and Prices Commission Mr Sketchley Sacika when commenting on the ZCTU decision.

Mr Kuwani said: "You do not pay where there is nothing." He hoped the ZCTU would put their rejection of the wage ceiling percentage in writing.

Mr Sacika declared that there was no question of his commission withdrawing the guidelines he announced last Friday as demanded by the ZCTU.

A two-day ZCTU general council meeting at the President's Citizenship College in Kabwe instead demanded free collective bargaining, depending on the ability of companies to pay.

The congress warned both Mr Sacika and Mr Kuwani who have in the past urged labour leaders not to demand more than the ten per cent wage ceiling imposed by the International Monetary Fund "to stop confusing the situation." Mr Sacika suggested that the ZCTU should clarify its position over the percentage ceiling and the guidelines.

"These guidelines have been put as national guidelines and I have no intention of withdrawing them. These guys (ZCTU) say they want to see the President; may be you can get a clarification from them."

Mr Kuwani said the ZCTU had now turned the wage ceiling into a Government matter and he hoped the Ministry of Finance would deal with it.

Since demands for more than ten per cent wage increases could not be met, he did not know how the Government would look at the issue.

Outlined

Referring to the guidelines, Mr Kuwani said: "Everything had been outlined" and he hoped the Government would explain this position to the ZCTU once it received written submissions from the labour movement.

In his guidelines, Mr Sacika said workers in the low income bracket should benefit more from the wage ceiling than their counterparts in the high income group.

"The application of the ten per cent wage policy can be done in such a way as to enable workers in the lower income groups to receive wage increases in excess of ten per cent without infringing the pay policy, so long as the increases are offset by smaller percentage increases for workers in the higher income groups."

Since the ten per cent wage ceiling was an interim measure which was tied up with the IMF standby loan facility, he would not permit any deviations.

LWZA MANPOWER RESEARCH SAYS TRAINING MUST SUIT MANPOWER NEEDS

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 16 Jun 83 p 1

[Excerpt]

THE University of Zambia must adjust its training and recruitment methods to suit the nation's manpower requirements, a report prepared by the university's manpower research unit has suggested.

It says the university must consciously encourage a reduced intake in social sciences, law and to some extent in education.

The situation which prevailed in the 1970s where there was a high demand for graduate level manpower is not true of the 1980s.

"This is a policy issue to which Unza needs to address itself", the report says.

The civil service sector had been the largest employer of Unza graduates but since 1981 it had been experiencing difficulties in the placement of the ever-growing number of graduates in social sciences.

"On the other hand shortages of local personnel in science and technology fields give rise to continued dependence on expatriates."

There is need to increase the intake to favour science and engineering based fields.

The paper calls for "guidance and counselling of intending Unza students" if Zambia is to avoid a situation where graduate output in the arts, social sciences and law could not be fully

absorbed in the labour market.

The report calls for close collaboration between Unza, planning agencies and employment organisations to ensure the university caters for relevant manpower requirements.

The low number of graduates in science and engineering is attributed to the high drop-out rates in these fields.

This rate reflects not only wastage of Zambia's valuable resources but retards the development of high-priority manpower as well.

The report says since the university has difficulty in finding adequate candidates with good grades in sciences and mathematics at Grade 12 level the institution must consider having two separate intakes in the school of natural sciences.

Under this scheme those students who do not meet the minimum entry requirements in the school of natural sciences should be enrolled as pre-university students who could only enter the first-year course after successful completion of the preliminary year.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA COMPLETES FEASIBILITY STUDY ON TRANSPORT SYSTEM

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 16 Jun 83 p 2

[Excerpt]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA has completed a feasibility study into the setting up of a multi-million Kwacha electric-powered transport system for Lusaka Urban district council.

But Prague would not release the draft study report until the council paid at least K19,000 for it in foreign exchange which must be remitted.

This was confirmed in Lusaka yesterday by commercial attache at the Czechoslovak embassy in Zambia Mr Peter Skala. The study was completed last March and was based on the introduction of trams and trolley buses in Lusaka.

The study had been discussed by a three-man delegation of Lusaka council officials which visited Prague last March and was "very impressed" by various electric-transportation systems used in that country.

The Zambian officials were permanent secretary in the provincial and local government administration Mr George Pelekamoyo, Lusaka Urban district council ex-

ecutive secretary Mr Nelson Mapala and council development secretary Mr Mannas Sinkolongo.

Asked what the council was doing to remit the money to Prague to retrieve the feasibility study report, Mr Skala said through his secretary the competent authority on the future of the tram project was Mr Pelekamoyo who headed the delegation.

Efforts to obtain Mr Pelekamoyo's comment were fruitless as he was reported to have travelled to the President's Citizenship College near Kabwe to attend a meeting.

CSO: 3400/1529

MUNDIA URGES WEST TO EMULATE JAPAN IN OFFERING GRANTS

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 15 Jun 83 p 1

[Excerpt]

PRIME Minister Mundia has called on developed Western countries to offer more grants than loans to the Third World.

Mr Mundia said he would like the West to follow Japan's example which offered grants for the projects in developing countries instead of confining these to food aid.

He was speaking in Lusaka yesterday when he received 74 Isuzu trucks donated by the Japanese government to Zambia under the economic cooperation programme.

The economic cooperation between the two countries was recent but Japan was among the top four industrialised countries investing in Zambia.

The trucks worth K1.5 million would be distributed to the ministries of Cooperatives and Works and Supply.

Mr Mundia said 60 trucks would be allocated to the Ministry of Cooperatives for hauling farm produce.

The Ministry of Works and Supply would receive ten trucks for maintenance of roads in agricultural productive areas while the Mwinilunga pine-apple project was given four for collecting the fruit from producers.

Mr Mundia said President Kaunda had directed that the project be allocated some vehicles for fruit collection and he would not want to hear of pine-apples going bad in the fields.

On the economic ties between the two countries Mr Mundia said since 1981 Japanese grants to Zambia had amounted to K18.6 million.

These included supply of rice, agricultural chemicals, lorries and tractors, and the construction of the paediatric surgical centre at the University Teaching Hospital.

"The Japanese government has been very good to Zambia in that, using the yen credit agreements, Tokyo has not only helped Lusaka in the procurement of motor vehicles, but provided fertiliser and other requisites."

The Party and its Government had decided to make agriculture as the number one priority for Zambia because it was only when a country was developed in agriculture that industrialisation became simple.

A nation which was unable to feed itself was prone to manipulation by those with surplus food.

Zambia would not like to be branded as one of the countries surviving on food aid.

"What the Japanese government has given us is in fact, a weapon for self sufficiency in food."

ZAMBIA

BRIEFS

CALL FOR INCREASED OUTPUT--The minister for the national commission for development and planning, Unia Mwila, has called on the farming community, through the minister of agriculture and water development, to go into full production of raw materials to feed local industries. Dr Mwila made the call after he toured the Chinese [words indistinct] of Zambia and (Kabre) Industrial Fabrics, which have cut down on production due to lack of foreign exchange to import raw materials which could be produced locally. Dr Mwila noted that (Kabre) Industrial Fabrics could help serve the country's loaded foreign exchange if the farming community and villagers were advised to produce local fibre, which is available in abundance in many parts of the country. Dr Mwila described the importation of raw materials as a colonial legacy which the British had created during the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to serve capitalist Western interests by using their former colonies. [Text] [MB171005 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 17 Jun 83]

JAPANESE INVESTMENT PRAISED--The Japanese Government has approved 10 million of its 25-million kwacha grant to Zambia for the construction of the school of veterinary sciences at the University of Zambia, and the money is due to be released this year. Prime Minister Nalumino Mundia announced this at a reception to mark the launching of the assembly of Mitsubishi 1200 large trucks at Rover Motors in Ndola, saying the Zambian people were greatly indebted at this show of Japanese hospitality. He noted that Japan was aiding developing Zambia in many other projects, a major one being the construction of the [word indistinct] wing at the university teaching hospital. The prime minister noted that Zambia's cooperation with the Japanese private sector, though a relatively recent phenomenon, was growing at a fairly [word indistinct] pace. Mr Mundia said that Japan is the fourth largest investor in Zambian industry, but should run higher if its present pattern of investment continues. On the motor trade the prime minister said that priority in the allocation of foreign exchange would in future be given to those who assembled imported (?packs) in the country as against those who imported whole vehicles from outside. [Text] [MB171807 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 17 Jun 83]

ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES--Prime Minister Nalumino Mundia says that Zambia will continue assisting genuine refugees as provided for under the Geneva Convention. The prime minister was speaking today in his office, when he met the United Nations high commissioner for refugees chief for east and southern Africa, Mr (Desmod Motsepe) and the commission's representative in Zambia, Mr (Ashton Savril). Mr Mundia also expressed gratitude at the level of assistance the

refugee program is receiving from the UN High Commission for Refugees. He noted that the financial assistance has risen from 3.8 million kwacha to 4.7 million kwacha since last year. He said the party and its government were concerned with the high influx of refugees from neighboring countries. He said people seeking refugee status in Zambia will be given all the assistance they would need on humanitarian grounds but that Zambia will not harbor people fighting its neighbors. [Text] [MB221911 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 22 Jun 83]

FINNISH TRANSPORT, FARMING AID--The Finnish government has this year allocated more than K500,000 towards the buying of vehicles and training of more than 900 farmers under its extension programme for farmers in the Luapula Province. Development attache at the Finnish embassy in Lusaka Mr Leo Ollasvirta said yesterday part of the money would be used to buy five vehicles and 50 bicycles to improve the transport situation for the programme in the province. He recalled that the transport situation was critical and the execution of the programme could be endangered unless the vehicles arrived on time. "Out of the three Toyota Land-Cruiser pick-up vehicles, the new one was stolen in December 1982 and was driven to Zaire. The two others have a mileage of more than 100,000 kilometres and are worn out." The total cost of the bicycles and vehicles would be about K134,000, he said. [Excerpt] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 15 Jun 83 p 2]

MATCH SHORTAGE TO END--The shortages of matches which has hit the nation is expected to end next week when production resumes, said general manager of the Match Corporation Mr Swami Durai in Lusaka yesterday. The company was expecting a substantial amount of raw materials for making match boxes which had caused the shortage. "The factory is at a standstill but we are expecting to resume production." The company has made arrangements with various authorities including the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the Bank of Zambia and the Department of Contingency Planning to ensure that production would be carried out throughout the year. It was reported on Sunday that the shortage of matches which started last month had worsened with black marketeers in Lusaka selling the boxes at 20n each instead of the normal price of 4n. A survey showed that matches had disappeared from both State and private shops. [Text] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 15 Jun 83 p 2]

CSO: 3400/1529

NORWAY SEEN AS 'POTENTIAL MARKET' FOR PRODUCTS

Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 20 May 83 p 7

[Text]

THE ASSISTANT DIRECTOR of the Norwegian Import Promotion Office for Products from Developing Countries (NORIMPOD), Mr Sven Erik Solberg, left Harare last week after holding discussions with government officials and business leaders on the possibility of exporting Zimbabwean products to Norway.

Mr Solberg told *The Gazette* that there was the possibility of importing a number of Zimbabwean products including cotton, wood veneers, plywood, coffee, fresh fruit and furniture.

"But there are two major problems which may make it a bit difficult for your products to enter the Norwegian market. Transportation is one of them, and the high cost of production.

"You are far away from the ports and this may make a few problems. I have also been looking around your shops and it seems some of your products are rather expensive, and because of the high production costs here, the products may not be competitive enough on the Norwegian market," the assistant director said.

NORIMPOD is a governmental office under the Norwegian Ministry of Commerce and shipping. It acts as an intermediary in establishing business contacts between exporters or producers in the developing countries and the Norwegian market with the aim of creating permanent business relations.

The Office also provides services such as a contact service through which exporters are put in touch with potential Norwegian importers, and the organisation also gives advice in appointing the most suitable partners for a specific product or task.

There is an information service under which NORIMPOD supplies basic information about the Norwegian market, customs duties, import regulations, market legislation, and statistical data.

It also offers a visitors' service for individual visitors from developing countries wishing to make contacts in Norway, a marketing service for assisting companies with their marketing in Norway, and the Office also takes part in planning of courses and marketing seminars.

CSO: 3400/1508

SUCCESS OF KUWADZANA COOPERATIVE DESCRIBED

Harare THE HERALD in English 30 May 83 p 7

[Text]

TUCKED away in thick bush about 30 km north-east of the small farming town of Raffingora, is a 3 962 ha commercial farm which used to be popularly known as Berry's Post, belonging to Mr S. A. Moorcroft.

Today, the farm has made a name for itself — with a difference. It is now a young and thriving collective farm and home for about 350 people under the name of Kuwadzana Co-operative.

Started on October 10 last year, the co-operative resembles other co-operatives in that the settlers are willing to see their toll succeed, thus promoting one of the major policies of the Government — self-reliance.

The co-operators, as they are called, have unity of purpose planted in them. From a humble beginning of only 13 members five months ago, the rate of success so far achieved proves what a united farming effort can do.

At present there are 110 registered members.

Although the majority of the members are young and energetic, society demands a blend of ages: there are seven elderly men including a blind one. The old men, albeit short of being welfare cases, do lighter work, leaving the more strenuous duties to the younger folk.

The cotton and maize crops which sprawl on 140 ha and 134 respectively of

the farm, are ample evidence of a long lease of life to Kuwadzana Co-operative. The country-wide drought did not affect their crops.

"We are determined to prove what we can achieve as a group. This is something to be admired and encourage those who frown upon co-operatives," Cde John Kabvunye said.

A master farmer by profession, Cde Kabvunye is the driving force behind this flourishing farming enterprise.

When the Government bought the farm, the Lutheran World Federation in conjunction with the Zimbabwe Christian Council provided funds to set the ball rolling at Kuwadzana.

The LWF representatives advise settlers on running the farm.

The acting provincial marketing and co-operatives services officer for Mashonaland West, Cde Tennyson Chidewu, said that at first the co-operators were suspicious, thinking that the Government would take their produce, leaving them with little or nothing.

But now every settler is proud to belong and work for the family unit of Kuwadzana Co-operative and knows they will reap their benefits.

Cde Chidewu said the eventual success of co-operatives lay in the ability of settlers to put communal interests above personal interests. Mutual trust would bond their relationship, he said. Kuwadzana Co-operative has not received any Government aid so far. The Lutheran World Federation bought two tractors, a Land-Rover, an 8-ton truck, maize and cotton seed.

Among the members are artisans, farmers, builders, sculptors, carpenters and mechanics. The majority of them are former farm labourers whose experience is a vital asset to the co-operative.

After harvesting their first crop, there is no doubt about the substantial amount of money the settlers will get.

The LWF project adviser at Kuwadzana, Cde Nap Aantjes, said his organisation would continue to help the new farmers until they were well versed with farming procedure and able to run their own affairs.

The federation is building houses for settlers and there are plans to electrify all the houses once completed. Piped water is available but for the time being it is carried in tractor-drawn tanks to the living quarters.

There are over 100 children of school-going age at Kuwadzana but there is no school. Only few children go to a far-off school. However, there are plans to renovate an old tobacco barn into a school. This would also be used for adult literacy classes in the evenings.

Settlers do not have enough food to eat al-

though the Department of Social Services provides mealie-meal and beans.

Christian Care once donated a few clothes to the settlers.

There is no clinic at the co-operative although first aid treatment is available.

"You must never cheat yourselves by thinking

that there are lucky charms or 'makona' you must acquire to reap more crops. The 'gona' for more crops is hard work and intelligence using the modern methods. Above all, unity is the strongest weapon, and we are ready to prove just that here," Cde Kabvunye said.

CSO: 3400/1508

PROFESSOR ADVOCATES SINGLE PARTY SYSTEM

Harare THE SUNDAY MAIL in English 29 May 83 p 13

[Article by Ray Mawerera]

[Text] **THE** problems between Zanu (PF) and Zapu are resolvable, says a University of Zimbabwe law lecturer.

In a recent interview Professor Reg Austin, chairman of the UZ's law department, said that despite differences there was still co-operation between the two parties.

Professor Austin was Zapu's legal adviser during the liberation war. He also worked with both Zapu and Zanu (PF) members from the days of the National Democratic Party until the 1963 split.

He said it was possible for the two parties to work together again.

"We must remember that we are emerging from a very complex situation and trying to do many things at the same time," he said. "We are vulnerable to many quite powerful (outside) influences over which we have little control — who could create little problems for us."

Married and with three daughters, the 48-year-old professor first came into contact with African nationalism in 1958 while working as a lawyer in Bulawayo. He met members of the African National Congress who had been thrown into Khami Prison when the party was banned in 1959.

They talked between cases — which he prosecuted — and he decided to join the fight for liberation, when it became clear to him that things would get "much worse before they got much better".

He joined the NDP in 1961. That same year he left for England to study international law and while still there news of the 1963 split reached him.

"It put me in something of a dilemma, because I had always thought it was important for us to be united. It was something of a puzzle to me."

He stayed in England, deciding he would do more for the nationalist cause outside than inside the country.

Although he worked mainly with Zapu, he also met people from other political groups at various meetings on the country's future — Geneva in 1976, Malta in 1977 and Lancaster House in 1979.

"The need for a single, umbrella political vanguard is clearly very important," he said. "I had hoped that we would move towards a single party and I think possibly we still will. I have always thought that what we needed was unity; that unity was desirable and we still are conscious of that... maybe we have

not tried the right ways so far."

On Zimbabwe's decision to forge a socialist state he said: "We have committed ourselves to trying to achieve socialism in a country which has been formed in a capitalistic model and which still has many structures that are leftovers from the colonial periods; they were also created by the capitalists that operated here."

"To try to change that is not an easy task. It involves great difficulty and it is not surprising we are having great difficulty."

To try to make socialism work here was going to be a "tough business," said the professor, who describes himself a socialist. It is a long, slow process that requires great determination and persistence.

Professor Austin said: "We are in something of a cockpit in Zimbabwe. We are in a country trying to develop, to reconstruct itself after a war and at the same time trying to transform itself from a colonial capitalist into a socialist system."

But, he added, a multi-party state would make the achievement of socialism more difficult.

"The suggestion that socialism and a multi-party state are conducive to one another is false," he said. "What we need is some form of unity. The most effective form of

that is to achieve a single party."

Asked what sort of man Zapu leader Dr Joshua Nkomo had been when he knew him, the professor, who is now apolitical, said he had only associated with Cde Nkomo on legal matters.

But he had always been a "generous sort of person" in the way he behaved. There had been problems from time to time of a "particular style of leadership" which he had and which was difficult "in terms of its communication," said Professor Austin.

He added: "I haven't seen him for a long time,

so I don't know quite what his present style is."

But from what little he knew of Dr Nkomo, did he think he would come back to the country?

"If he believes he can make a contribution to achieve unity, which evidently must, he must eventually make that contribution here," said Professor Austin.

His own idea was that he would come back because the Government had said he could and it was his duty to come back. But it was clearly Dr Nkomo's personal decision to make, said Professor Austin.

Professor Austin had worked with such prominent political figures as the late Cdes J. Z. Moyo and Herbert Chitepo, and Ministers — like Cdes Simbi Mubako, Emmerson Munangagwa, Bernard Chidzero and army commanders from both camps: Dumiso Dabengwa, the late Josiah Tongogara, Lookout Masuku and Josiah Tung-amirayi.

He came back to Zimbabwe in April 1980. Independence day means a lot to him, for he celebrates two birthdays — the country's and his own.

CSO: 3400/1508

THIS YEAR'S SUGAR EXPORT EARNINGS FORECAST

Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 20 May 83 p 1

[Text]

ZIMBABWE's raw sugar production this year is estimated at 400 000 tonnes of which about 200 000 tonnes is expected to be exported, earning the country more than \$40 million in foreign exchange, a spokesman for Zimbabwe Sugar Sales told *The Gazette* this week.

Commenting on last week's reported improvement in the world price of sugar, the spokesman said some of Zimbabwe's sugar was being sold to the USA, the EEC, and other countries at prices well above the current world market levels and, therefore, the improved world price, even if sustained, will not affect these export earnings.

World prices for sugar had improved recently compared to the extremely depressed market values experienced over the past 14 months, and several factors, the most recent one being the bad weather in Europe which is affecting beet plantings, had contributed to the current improvement.

MAJOR PRODUCERS

In January and February, Cuba, one of the major producers, had problems in harvesting caused by torrential rains, and other major exporters such as Australia and South Africa, have been affected by the drought, the spokesman said.

Saying the present improvement is not linked to any increase in the

demand for sugar, the spokesman said: "In certain countries the reverse is happening. For instance, soft drink manufacturers in the USA who are major users of sugar, have reduced the percentage of sucrose used in their manufacturing process in favour of corn syrup.

"Furthermore, extreme caution must be exercised in reading too much into movements in the terminal market, which is volatile and subject to speculator interest," the spokesman said.

On Tuesday, commentators in Europe said that European beet is notoriously resilient, so a recovery can be expected although last year's excellent yields are not likely to be repeated, he said.

Other international traders have commented that little physical trade in sugar is taking place and that one cannot ignore the extremely high level of physical stocks (37 million tonnes) which result from the record production levels of the past two years, he said.

The spokesman said the industry's leaders insist that a soundly-based internal market is vital to enable it to withstand the vagaries of export markets where prices fluctuate violently.

Meanwhile, costs continue to escalate rapidly and an example is the recent increases in railage charges which will add an extra \$2 million to annual distribution costs, he said.

CHIDZERO WARNS OF TOUGH NEW BUDGET

Harare THE HERALD in English 31 May 83 p 1

[Text]

ZIMBABWEANS can expect a tough Budget this year because more than \$100 million has to be channelled to famine relief and related exercises, the Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Dr Bernard Chidzero, hinted yesterday.

As this was bound to have significant negative effects on development programmes, the Government was exploring ways to introduce drought development work schemes such as the construction of bridges, roads and water works in rural areas, he said.

The Budget would be "adversely affected".

Dr Chidzero was addressing a two-day executive committee meeting of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers which ends in Harare today.

He said the drought had had a crippling effect on agriculture and on Zimbabwe's foreign exchange earning capacity. It also had a negative impact on the economy as a whole, and matters had not been helped by the world recession.

A combination over the years of minimum official investment and of overcrowding in rural areas, of economic insecurity and dependence on wage transfers from urban areas and of largely unattended physical degradation, "makes drought so pernicious and devastating".

Tens of thousands of small-scale and a number of large-scale farmers were unable to settle agricultural loans and were not likely to qualify for loans next season.

This would inevitably affect the normal operations of the Agricultural Finance Corporation.

"It is clear that about 90 percent of small-scale farmers already cannot repay and the picture on commercial farms is being assessed."

In the face of this tragedy and challenge, he said, it was gratifying to note that both commercial and communal farmers were co-operating.

Commercial farmers in some parts of the country had offered parts of their grazing land and water facilities to their counterparts in the communal sectors.

"That is the spirit of oneness and national unity growing somewhat imperceptibly, but steadily in this country," he said. "The oneness of farmers, their hardiness, indeed their stubbornness in the face of hazards, is greatly admired the world over."

"And we are also grateful to the international community which has offered assistance in the form of food aid, water drilling equipment and so on. Indeed mankind is one,

and no effort should be spared in promoting that oneness and your gathering here today is a contribution towards the attainment of that goal."

The producer, especially the small farmer, needed all the incentives of adequate and stable prices and all the accompanying input and infrastructure facilities, credit, extension services and market outlets.

Dr Chidzero expressed concern that achievement of these objectives could easily be brought to nought by hostile or antiquated international economic relations and practices.

"There is need to expand international trade and curb untoward protectionist policies and barriers, tariff and non-tariff alike, especially in favour of developing countries or less developed countries in general."

"Commodity prices need to be remunerative and stable. Research and development need international support while domestic processing of raw

materials into manufactures and semi-manufactures equally needs support and promotion."

The Minister of Agriculture, Senator Denis Norman, told the officials that Zimbabwe had a vast agri-

cultural potential yet to be tapped and, with aid, the industry could be the greatest contributor to the national economy.

Officially opening the meeting, he said it had been realised that the

farming industry could only be a success in the long term if it had tools for the job. Producer prices should be used as an incentive to greater productivity, and efficiency would slash operation costs.

CSO: 3400/1508

SINGLE POWER SUPPLY AUTHORITY PLANNED

Harare THE HERALD in English 31 May 83 p 5

[Text]

THE Government has set up a working party to draw up recommendations on the formation and structure of a single national power supply authority in Zimbabwe, says the new general manager of the Electricity Supply Commission, Dr Sydney Gata.

He told The Herald yesterday that the new power authority was expected to be established next year.

The working party comprises representatives from the Electricity Supply Commission, the cities of Bulawayo, Gweru, Harare and Mutare and various Government ministries.

At the moment there are six power authorities and these include the Central African Power Corporation, the Electricity Supply Commission and the electricity undertakings belonging to the cities of Bulawayo, Gweru, Harare and Mutare.

Dr Gata said the relation between the new single power authority and CAPCO was yet to be determined because CAPCO generated power at the Kariba hydro-electric complex for both Zimbabwe and Zambia.

The advantage to the country of a single national power authority

would be the best use of all resources.

Zimbabwe already had a short, medium and long-term power development plan, prepared in 1981, to determine the least cost power generation programme to meet the country's power requirements to the end of the century.

"This plan will be updated as and when necessary to take account of the changing load growth patterns, estimated future project costs and potential power imports from other SADCC countries," he said.

The Ministry of Industry and Energy Development announced the decision to amalgamate the power supply authorities under one corporate organisation at the end of February this year. It also announced a new management structure for the ESC.

The restructuring of the ESC has resulted in two new departments of manpower development and project management. The aim is to effectively plan and execute intensive programmes of manpower development and training to phase out Zimbabwe's dependence on expatriate staff, improve the co-ordination and management of capital development projects like rural and

railway electrification, the national control centre and the Wankie Thermal Power Station.

Dr Gata said the ESC planned to develop in-house expertise through the training of project engineers, who would progressively replace external contractors and consultants for much of the work previously passed on to them.

"Although this will take some time, the advantages are impressive. These are improved control of project costs, strict selection of new technology and the tremendous job satisfaction that goes with in-house project development."

The Government was considering the financial implications of extensions of mains supply to the more remote areas of the country in comparison with the use of other forms of energy. "It must be stressed, however, that high voltage system extensions over large distances can only be undertaken at very considerable cost."

Dr Gata was the Deputy Secretary for Vocational and Technical Training in the Ministry of Manpower and Planning and Development before moving to the ESC. Before that he had spent two years at the University of Zimbabwe as a lecturer.

UNION LEADER CLAIMS MINERS EXPLOITED, FORCED TO RESIGN

Harare BUSINESS HERALD in English 26 May 83 p 1

[Article by David Masunda]

[Text] ABOUT 10 000 workers at Shabanie and Mashaba mines are now on a rotational short-time basis and 1 070 have opted to resign on a "pitiful" inducement scheme, claims the president of the Associated Mine Workers' Union of Zimbabwe, Mr Jeffrey Mutandare.

Only the unskilled and the semi-skilled have been affected by this measure, he said. The company which owns the mines, African Associated Mines, had earlier applied to the Government for permission to retrench about 2 000 workers because of the fall of asbestos prices on world markets. This was turned down.

The company initially applied to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services for permission to retrench 2 800 workers but the number later dropped to 2 691. The Government and the union opted for short working hours rather than retrenchment.

The ministry then gave the company two options — either to put the entire labour force on short-time

basis or to put the 2 691 on that basis.

"The company took it upon itself to rotate the unskilled and semi-skilled workers at the rate of 1 500 a week. This involves about 6 000 workers at Shabanie and 4 000 at Mashaba."

Mr Mutandare said the company had also introduced an "inducement scheme" whereby employees were told that the company would pay each of those who resigned \$250 plus three months' pay. So far, 1 070 have resigned on this scheme, he said.

"This is at variance with the Government and the union's recommendations."

The mining company also started transferring surface operational staff to underground "in an effort to make them resign," he said.

"The AMWZ is deeply concerned with this random transfer of manpower and is convinced that the company is doing this to vigorously accelerate the inducement scheme."

DISTURBING

"For example, personnel from the work-shop and the mills are being transferred underground with the intention of making them resign. Some of them have been working on the surface for more

than twenty years and would rather resign than work underground."

The management and the workers' committee of the mines had agreed to an average of 20 shifts (20 days) for each worker to lessen the gravity of the situation, he said.

"But, it is highly disturbing to hear reports that the management has reneged on that agreement and certain employees are now working for 17 to 18 shifts only."

Mr Mutandare said his union and the mine officials had also agreed to a cut of rental and service charges for all those affected by the cut in working hours and pay, but, the mine was still charging the same rates.

"The union is therefore deeply disappointed that no adjustments on rents and service charges have been made in view of the reduced earning capacity of the employees on short-time."

Most of the workers at the two mines come from surrounding drought-stricken areas of Zvishavane and Mberengwa. The weekly African Economic Digest of February 18 quoted an official of the union, Mr Patrick Chimwayi, as having said these workers "were prepared to work for no wages until things improve in the world markets".

A spokesman for African Associated Mines said his company had put some workers on short-time "but they were much less than 10 000".

"The whole of our labour force is about 10 000 and we have much less than that on short-time. We have had to close three of five of our mills and this has cut production to 75 percent of our previous levels. Short-

time and other cost saving operations have therefore been introduced."

He said his company was negotiating with the Government on this issue and the issue of house rents.

"But, I can assure you that the company is not closing down or retrenching. All those who have resigned have done so voluntarily," he said.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Services has also refuted the number of those on short-time and claimed was much less than that.

"I say it is very reckless for someone to say 10 000 workers are on short-time. There are some workers on short-time but the number is much smaller than that," said the Permanent Secretary, Dr Herbert Murewa.

CSO: 3400/1508

INCREASE OF SKILLED POPULATION REPORTED

Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 20 May 83 p 10

[Text]

LESS SKILLED people left Zimbabwe during the first two months of this year as compared to the same period last year, while more skilled people settled in the country during the same period as compared to last year.

The latest statistics released by the statistical office show that during January and February last year 1 302 skilled people emigrated, while during the same period this year, 1 061 emigrated.

A total of 556 skilled immigrants arrived in the country during January and February this year, as compared to 474 during the two-months period last year.

In February alone 306 skilled immigrants came into the country this year as compared to February last year when the number was 252. The emigration figures for February this year show 562 people leaving and 531 leaving during the same month last year.

The biggest loss of skilled personnel was in the production and related workers field with 393 leaving during the two-month period this year. The same period last year saw the loss of 316.

The production and related workers category includes production supervisors and general fore-

men, miners, quarrymen, well drillers and related workers, electrical fitters, electronic workers, printers, bricklayers, carpenters, and other construction and related workers.

The second biggest loss was in the professional, technical and related workers field where 254 skilled people left during January and February this year. The figure for the two-month period last year was 320.

In this category are physical scientists, architects, engineers and related technicians, life scientists and related technicians, accountants, teachers, and medical, dental, veterinary and related workers.

The largest number of skilled immigrants was in the professional, technical and related workers field — 292 for the first two months of this year, followed by 108 in the production and related workers field.

The figures for the first two months of last year were 232 and 97 respectively.

Figures for the one year period from January to December 1982 show that 4 006 skilled people migrated to Zimbabwe, while 4 840 skilled personnel left the country during the same period.

FARMERS UNION LEADER ON 'VIABILITY CRISIS'

Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 27 May 83 p 2

[Text] **WORRIED** commercial farmers are becoming increasingly dismayed at escalating costs compounded by the drought and, recently, the "stand-still" producer prices.

"We are not standing still — we are running backwards, and I can't see where we go from here except under," said the president of the Commercial Farmers Union, Mr Jim Sinclair, last week.

Mr Sinclair was giving a detailed and outspoken account of present farming problems during the official opening of the Grain-Mech '83, run in conjunction with the World Ploughing Championships near Harare. A report of his comments appeared in *The Farmer* magazine of May 16.

STATIC PRICES

Giving examples of the "viability crisis" following on two years of drought and static prices, Mr Sinclair said the Commercial Farmers' Union must urge realistic prices as soon as possible. Otherwise he did not see how farmers could ever get out of the "very serious position" he outlined.

According to the report, Mr Sinclair said the ability of farmers to meet the food targets of Zimbabwe was being threatened as the industry was not being provided with the tools to get on with the job.

CONCERNED

He was desperately concerned at the shortage of vital equipment such as new tractors, the shortage and high cost of spares and escalating costs of almost all items at a time when farmers had been told

they must accept a stand-still price situation.

He said that at a "very modest" rate (much lower than the normal replacement rate in Europe) Zimbabwe's commercial farmers needed at least a 10% tractor replacement rate, or 1 700 tractors per annum.

But in 1981 only 857 tractors and last year only 858 had been made available to the large-scale farming sector. This year it appeared that "we may not reach this figure".

But farmers had to produce food and had to build up food stocks depleted by the drought. Commercial farmers were responsible for the urban food supplies of Zimbabwe, said Mr Sinclair.

"Without the tools for the job it must be problematical whether we can do the task we and the Government together have set ourselves."

He said the average age of tractors was now more than 13 years. That in itself was serious enough. But added to that was the "disastrous spares situation" building up and farmers saw major problems ahead.

In real terms they would have half the amount of spares imported during last year, which itself had been serious enough, to service and maintain an ever-increasingly elderly and dilapidated fleet.

What he found so dismaying was that concern about this issue — to the most crucial sector of the economy — was not closely related to the realities, he added.

"Please — we are not crying 'wolf'. We are committed to the goals of food self-sufficiency and maximum foreign currency earning ability. Give us the tools

and we'll do the job, as we have demonstrated in the past."

A second point he wished to make related to the "explosive" escalation in the cost of those essential items, he said.

"When I say explosive, I mean it."

Mr Sinclair said that in 1972 a 65-hp tractor cost \$4 000 and a four-row locally made planter between \$1 000 and \$1 500. Today, 11 years later, the tractor would cost \$24 000 and the planter at least \$8 500.

That was not the worst side of the problem. Farmers had been asked to accept a stand-still situation regarding farm producer prices.

PROJECTIONS

"In the last three years, during which time we have had no increase in the maize price, input costs have risen by 40% and projections now show a 20% inflation for the period from now until this time next year — making 60% for the period of our stand-still," he said.

"People who stand still in that situation get flattened. And if we get flattened, who will produce the food for the nation?"

Giving other detailed examples of costs Mr Sinclair asked: "So who's standing still? These are only (some) examples of the viability crisis facing us coming out of two years of drought and static prices. We are not standing still — we are running backwards and I can't see where we go from here except under."

He concluded: "I haven't even mentioned electricity, labour, fertiliser, stockfeeds and all the other inputs that we need to feed the people."

BRACE FOR HARDER TIMES, SINCLAIR WARNS

Harare THE HERALD in English 28 May 83 p 5

[Text]

SPIRALLING production costs pose a serious threat to the agricultural industry's ability to feed the nation and to generate vitally needed foreign exchange earnings, said the president of the United Farmers of Zimbabwe, Mr. John Sinclair, yesterday.

Mr. Sinclair, who was guest speaker at the annual day of the Tobacco Training Institute near Harare, said "considerable adjustments" had to be made by farmers to cope with the problems of the year.

With costs rising explosively and commodity prices falling, he said, farmers were being squeezed from both sides.

He said the government had to take steps to ensure that the industry was not squeezed out of business.

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needed to earn the vital foreign exchange, he said.

Mr. Sinclair called on other producer organisations to emulate those who had taken steps to provide training institutions as this would be the best demonstration of concern for the future by commercial agriculture.

The ripple effects of such training programmes would eventually reach the whole of the community, he said, and the resettlement sector resulting in an increase in production which would be of great benefit to the nation as a whole.

The chairman of the institute's board of directors, Mr. Vic Hurley, said the whole agricultural industry was plagued with a "general malaise" which called for a significant improvement in prices, which would result in an upswing in production, leading to greater job opportunities.

He appealed for increased national support for the industry, saying that the institute would be forced to scale down its winter operations if not well-attended when the rains came.

"Thought, coupled with static returns for our crops and a frightening increase in production costs, make it all the more imperative that training and extension be stepped up," said Mr. Hurley.

BRIEFS

SOCIALIST EDUCATION--A school curriculum being worked out by the Government is beginning to reflect a socialist society with emphasis being placed on practical and scientific training, the Minister of Education and Culture, Cde Dzingai Mutumbuka, said in Kadoma yesterday. The minister said that ministries and some non-Government agencies were working to develop a curriculum which reflected the nature of Zimbabwe. The curriculum would be developed by Zimbabweans and would concentrate more on practical and scientific training instead of being theoretical. Officially opening the Ganyungu Secondary School, he said: "The curriculum is beginning to reflect a socialist society. It is becoming non-sectarian, and is concentrating more upon practical and scientific training instead of being too theoretical. Even at secondary level great effort is being made to indigenise the curriculum." Cde Mutumbuka said a prosperous socialist state demanded the improvement and use of human and natural resources to the best advantage of society and all those who compose it. He said headmasters should work hard to win the respect of the community so that they could be seen as leaders. He said headmasters were responsible to the community for the welfare of children and their development into Zimbabwean citizens. "But you have an equally important part to play in this development, both at the school itself and the atmosphere you create for your children within your communities."--Ziana. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 30 May 83 p 1]

RUBBER PLANT CLOSES--A Bulawayo company which is the country's only manufacturer of Vee and Fan belts essential for the operation of vehicles, mining, agricultural and other machinery in Zimbabwe, will have to stop production next week for three months, due to lack of raw materials. Rubber and Allied Products Pvt Ltd is allowed a quota of only about \$13 000 per quarter in order to import the essential materials, as against its requirements of \$25 000 per quarter needed to enable it to meet current demands for its products. It is now running out of supplies. By next Wednesday, a spokesman for the company confirmed, about 46 workers in this division of the company will have to be sent on unpaid leave. The company does not expect it will be able to start production again until September. But even then, if the foreign currency allocation is not increased there will only be enough material for it to work for six weeks before having to stop production again due to lack of raw material. Approaches have been made to the Government, so far without result. However, due to an apparent anomaly in the tariff structure, a number of local traders are importing

similar belts from South Africa and elsewhere at a cost of thousands of dollars in foreign currency...and making a bigger profit on them. Although spokesmen at the company would not comment, a spare-parts dealer in Harare confirmed that the present import tariff structure allows finished belts to be imported by traders as a type of spare part. Due to the use of highly sophisticated equipment and mass production methods in South Africa and elsewhere, they can be imported at fairly low prices and then sold at a significant profit, although costing a considerable amount in foreign currency. The Bulawayo-made products are said to be equally good, if not better. They could save massive currency spending locally if more raw materials were allowed for their production. [Text] [Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 20 May 83 p 1]

PROFITABLE COUNCILS URGED--The Minister of Local Government and Town Planning, Cde Enos Chikowore, yesterday urged local government to establish profitable enterprises to reduce dependency on Government grants and rental payments. The minister, who was addressing a Zanu (PF) rally in Chegutu, said the Government had given small grants to councils for initial development, but it was up to the councils to undertake projects which would generate the much-needed revenue instead of "milking" residents by increasing rents and service charges. He encouraged the establishment of co-operatives as a source of revenue, citing the Harare City Council which had a flourishing dairy ranch.--Ziana [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 30 May 83 p 3]

GOVERNMENT LOANS TO COUNCILS--The Government has warned councils that it is not a bottomless pit for loans and councils such as Chinhoyi who have a \$540 000 housing deficit will get no more ministerial loans. The Minister of Local Government and Town Planning, Cde Enos Chikowore, told a Zanu (PF) rally at Chinhoyi Stadium last weekend that his ministry's policy was that no more loans would be given to authorities who still owed money to his ministry. Chinhoyi has a housing backlog of about 3 000 and residents had to pay back what they owed to the council so it could in turn pay back its debts and borrow more money to build new houses. The minister said demonstrations could be avoided if people had a say in issues affecting them. There must be consultations between local authorities and residents before rates and rents were raised. "It is incumbent upon councillors to explain fully to residents any issue that affects their town," he said. The minister lashed out at selfish councillors who wanted to get rich quickly by opening small businesses in their areas instead of giving such opportunities to residents. Cde Chikowore urged the people to form cooperatives and called on the municipality to attract more industries into the town. "What we need here in Chinhoyi is employment, and profit-generating projects to develop this town, otherwise it won't be a surprise to see a growth point like Murombedzi growing bigger than Chinhoyi," he said. Cde Chikowore said in this second year of national transformation, people could not survive on slogans alone but should see things changing. "We should transform our minds first, then we will see new houses, factories and tarred roads and our slogans will have some meaning," he said.--ZIS. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 30 May 83 p 3]

PRICING STANDSTILL DEFENDED--Bulawayo. The "standstill" pricing policy for agricultural products is designed to give the Government adequate time to assess the overall effect of the drought so that a sound pricing system can be formulated to keep the industry viable, the Minister of Agriculture, Senator Denis Norman, said in Kwekwe on Thursday. Addressing about 200 commercial purchase-area farmers from the Midlands, Senator Norman stressed the need to help agriculture recover from the effects of the drought. Some farmers criticised the 15 percent increase in the beef price announced last month, and argued that it should have been 50 percent. The minister explained that the 15 percent increase was only the minimum guaranteed, but added that he could not say if the percentage increase might be raised. The farmers further expressed disappointment that the Government was not subsidising the transport of their cattle from drought-stricken areas to Mashonaland, where there was enough fodder. Senator Norman said the Government could only provide transport for cattle being sent for slaughter or to "recognised feedlots". Despite the drought, enough crops would be harvested this season to meet the nation's requirements, and the only shortfall would be in oil-bearing crops. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 28 May 83 p 5]

TWENTY-SEVEN-YEAR LOAN FLOATED--The Government of Zimbabwe is to float a new 27-year loan at a rate of interest of 13.25% per annum against the issue of local registered stock. The purchase price will be \$100 per cent. Interest will be payable half-yearly on June 6 and December 6 and the first payment will be made on December 6, 1983. The stock will be redeemed at par on June 6, 2010. The stock will be issued on a tap basis, with subscription lists opening at 9 am on Monday, June 6, 1983; being a tap issue these may be closed and re-opened at any time at the discretion of the issuing authority. The loan is to assist in financing expenditure in connection with economic, social and administrative services in Zimbabwe. Applications, which must be for not less than \$100 nominal value of stock or a multiple thereof, should be made on Form "A", available from the bank, and be addressed to the General Manager, Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (Stock Office), PO Box 1283, Harare, Zimbabwe. [Text] [Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 27 May 83 p 2]

ITALIAN COTTON BUYERS--A group of Italian buyers of Zimbabwean cotton lint and agents of the Cotton Marketing Board recently spent a week in Zimbabwe at the invitation of the Board. The group of 13 visited the CMB ginnery depot at Banket and the Government Cotton Research Institute near Kadoma, as well as the Cotton Training Centre, Kadoma, which is operated by the Commercial Cotton Growers' Association. Commenting on their visit, a spokesman for the visitors said they were impressed by the well-developed and efficient infrastructure of the industry--from research and training through to growing, processing and marketing. Although many members of the delegation had seen cotton systems in other parts of the world, they had seen none comparable to that in Zimbabwe, he added. After the tours and meetings with officials of the Zimbabwean cotton industry, the Italians visited the Victoria Falls, Hwange National Park and Kariba before leaving for home. [Text] [Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 27 May 83 p 3]

FRUITS INTEREST SWEDEN--"Exotic" fruits such as mango, guava, kiwi-fruit and granadilla, are becoming increasingly popular in Sweden, and

Zimbabwean producers could find an export market there. According to a recent edition of the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce newsletter TRADE OPPORTUNITIES, the Swedes consume almost 4 000 tonnes of these fruits every year, and this amount is increasing. The first secretary to the Harare Swedish embassy, Mr Lars Tillfords, said this week: "There is tremendous interest among private Swedish companies to import local fruit." Avocados and pineapples, the ZNCC newsletter reports, are already established on the Swedish market, but oranges, imported at the rate of 110 000 tonnes a year, dominate. [Text] [Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 27 May 83 p 3]

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